Periodical

JULY, 1934

FIFTEEN CENTS

THE CRISIS

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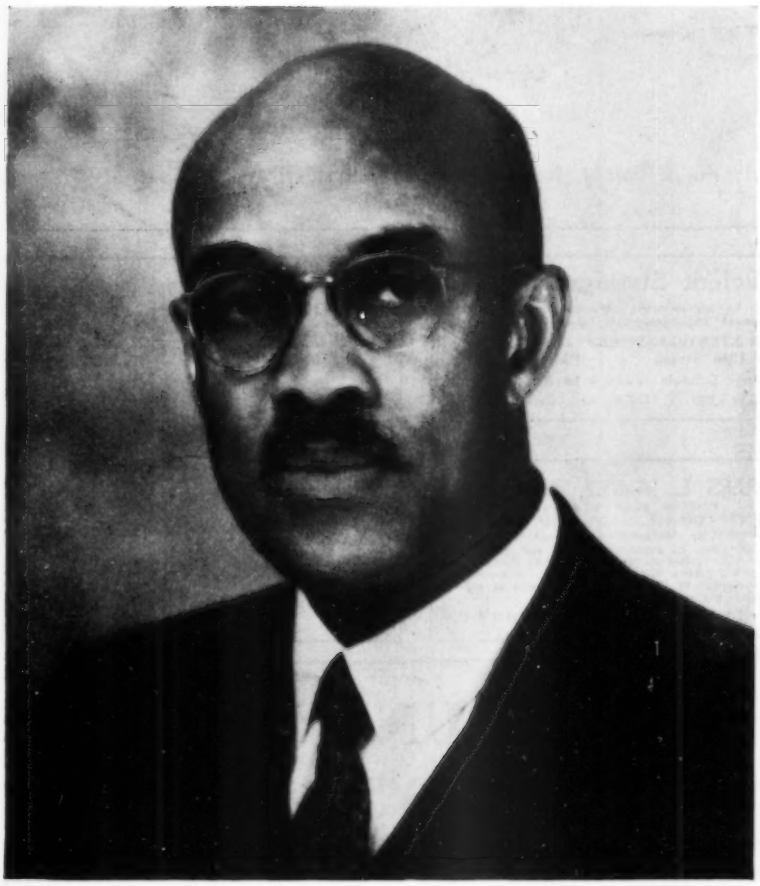

POLITICS IN PHILADELPHIA AND DETROIT

BY

E. WASHINGTON RHODES

and

AARON C. TOODLE

•

"GENERAL BUDDHOE" AND THE REVOLT OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor-in-Chief*

George W. Streator, Roy Wilkins } *Managing Editors*

Volume 41, No. 7 *Whole No. 284*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Albert Weisbord is Secretary of the Communist League of Struggle. He is a graduate of Harvard Law School.

●

Roscoe Dunjee is editor of the *Oklahoma City Black Dispatch*, well known Negro weekly.

●

Lyonel Florant is a student at Fisk University. He lives in New York.

●

Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein concludes in this issue his Study of Race Prejudice.

●

G. David Houston is principal of Armstrong High School, Washington, D. C.

●

G. James Fleming is a newspaper man now living in New York. Many of the incidents in "With Torch and Tomahawk to Freedom," he overheard from the lips of children of the insurrection in his native Virgin Islands. Mr. Fleming is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin.

●

Daisy Lampkin is Regional Field Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

●

E. Washington Rhodes, who writes on Pennsylvania politics in this issue, is an attorney and editor of the *Philadelphia Tribune*.

●

"The Negro in Michigan Politics" is contributed in this issue by Dr. Aaron C. Toodle, the general manager of the *Detroit Tribune-Independent*.

FORECAST

The August issue of THE CRISIS will be the annual Educational Number.

Among the articles we expect to print will be a survey of Negro college dramatics by Randolph Edmonds. There will be the usual surveys of college education, with perhaps one or two critical essays on the Negro college student. THE CRISIS wants pictures of persons who have gained advanced degrees in the Northern colleges. Negro colleges are asked to send in at once facts pertaining to enrollment and the number of graduates, and a picture of the ranking student of the class.

●

Informative articles on the Negro in politics and government have been promised for future numbers.

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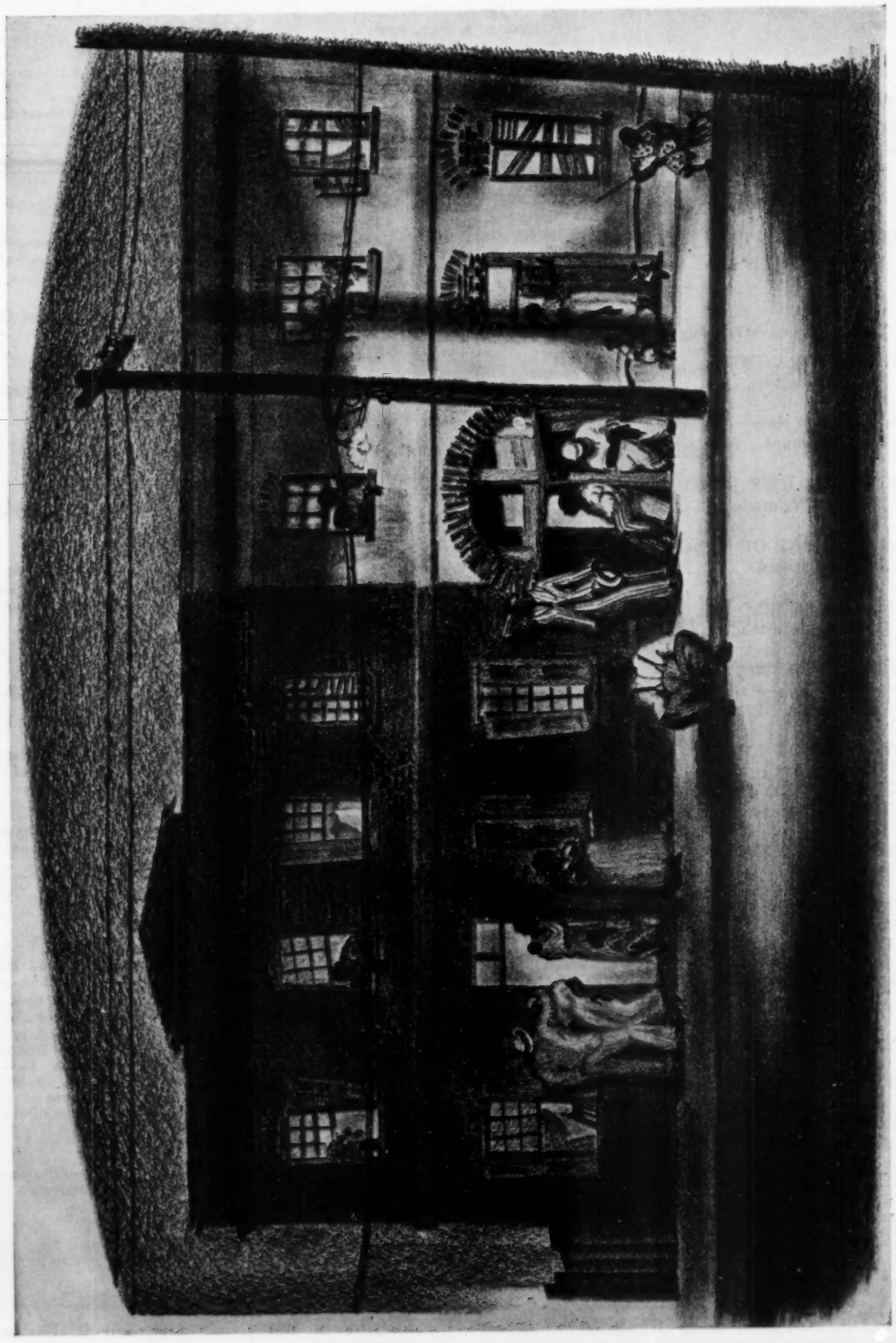
In the August issue, THE CRISIS will also publish an article by Robert C. Weaver, who is assistant to Clark Foreman in the Department of the Interior.

●

John B. Watson and Ferdinand Q. Morton discuss Segregation.



HORLBECK ALLEY, CHARLESTON, S. C.
Lithograph by Prentiss Taylor

Courtesy, E. Weyhe Gallery

"Biffle"

By LYONEL FLORANT

IT was late evening when I left old Lady Gandy's "laundry." The massive sun was setting in a dim haze beyond the hill. Like a clot of blood it sank, tinting the horizon a deep crimson. Before me was the familiar and neglected Negro street strewn with rocks and rubbish. On either side lay old shanties collapsing in ruin. A few naked trees left standing after the tornado of 1933 were withered hope in a setting of living death. Here and there a group of Negroes dried and shrivelled by deprivation, lurked as ghosts of the past in the murkiness of night.

I thought of "Biffle," the little black urchin who roamed the campus a few months ago. Was it possible that he, after all might some day become the saviour of black America?

Old Mrs. Gandy, sitting on the box outside her laundry, had brought "Biffle" to my mind. The depression had certainly "well-nigh ruined" her business. "Once the boys and girls kept me fairly busy scrubbing the dirt out of their clothes for them, but now it seems that the college got a different class of folks from what they used to get in the old days. These students dress a plenty but can't afford no hand launderin'."

"Y' know," she went on, "I got a brother in Alabama what use to own his own land. But dis 'pression got him jus' like all the rest of us. He can't sell enough cotton right now to earn board an' keep. What's more, I don't know what's gonna come of him, 'cause dey tell me de government gonna make him plow under what little cotton he got." Right here she paused. Her expression changed somewhat; she seemed to be trying to recall something.

"Say chile, do you 'membah dat lil' fellow what used to hang around here 'bout three months ago?"

"You mean 'Biffle'?"

"That's his name. Well chile, it looks to me like some poor boy like 'Biffle' is de only hope for us poor folks. All you might help yo' high frien's what'll getcha a 'sition up Norf doin' some sort a research or st'istics, but (and she prophetically shook her head) chile, dat ain't gonna he'p you an' me de leas' bit.

"Now don't let nobody fool you; dat boy's got a mind. Chile I seen dis wid my own eyes. Dis mornin' I was goin' to town on Jeff'son car. I pays my fare an' den walks to de back of de car where it says 'for de colored race.' You know who got on de same car wid me? Dat young student wid all dat money and clothes, Robert Plankey. He makes out lak he don't know me, but ah rec'nized him from de back. Well sah, dat boy jus' makes me laugh. He gets on de car an' sets right up in de front by a nice clean white lady where it says 'for white.' I says to ma'se'f—'ain't dat de boy what's studyin' to be de race leader?'

"Jus about den, I felt a little nudgin' and punchin' in my side. I looks down an' dere sittin' 'sides me is "Biffle." Well chile I was so glad to see him, but he didn't seem to be payin' me no 'tention. He was starin' straight ahead. I heard him grunt, 'He thinks he's white.' Jus' den, he pushes by me an' I tries to stop him, 'cause he looks sorta outa his mind. But 'fore I had chance to do anything, Honey, he was out in de aisle just a yellin'—'Yallah nigger! you ain't no better'n I am. You got to sit back here where I sits!' I don't know what else dat boy was gonna say. He was so angry I had to grab him and hush him up 'fore de conductor had a chance.

"Dey tell me dat Plankey boy, like de rest a you, got all kinds a notions how you can save de Race, but chile after de way he acted on dat car, I believes he's shamed he's a Nigger!"

"Yes," she said after a minute's silence, "I been tryin' so hard to 'membah dat name 'Biffle.' Well listen Chile, don't you let nobody tell you nuffin different from ole Ganny," she pleaded. "Dat boy gonna outdo all you ritzy young 'uns when it comes to heppin' my people. I seen it in 'im. He's gonna be the kind what will want no au'mobiles, dressy things, and setch. Dat boy got a mind so keen; jes' a lil' heppin' from somebody would make him a leader—what you call a *real* leader of de Race. One what ain't gonna get so high and so white dat he f'gets dat we's all de same. All treated de same by de white folks. To dem we's all jes' niggers; high niggers, low niggers, yallah niggers, black niggers, niggers wid a few ideas in their heads, and us dumb niggers."

It was the day of the fraternity game that "Biffle" first made his appearance on the campus: a little bundle of rags "showing off" during intermission. Where he came from nobody knew. "Stretch," the giant center for the Alphas, had picked him up somewhere in the city and brought him back to the campus. He got his first hot shower bath in the boys' dressing room. He became four shades lighter in spots; but dark rings of good Nashville dirt encircled his eyes, and sought refuge in every hollow that his undernourished face presented.

This little brown urchin was really a sight to behold. His baggy trouser legs slumped down over a pair of colored stockings. They were neither red nor brown, but a musty dirty in-between color. An old turtle-neck sweater salvaged from some rubbish heap hung loosely about his body, while the sleeves, much too long, were rolled into wrist balls.

He was very much at home as he strutted down the center of the floor doing his little goose step. The girls thought he was "just *too cute* for words"—so the boys gave him a big hand, in response to which he doffed his ragged cap grinning as he did from ear to ear.

For the next few days, "Biffle" was a center of interest for some. However, the more "refined" students—aristocrats of the race—did not want him about. Just imagine the dirty little waif getting real close to one of the campus beauties! And there really were campus beauties. They came with trunkloads of dresses, suits, evening gowns, and the most gorgeous creations, the equal of those which appeared at the leading American colleges and finishing schools. Could one blame "Biffle," who had been born in a one-room shack bordering the railroad tracks, for wanting to taste of the better things in life?

For nine years "Biffle" had observed his mother's warnings about white people. He knew a little about Abraham Lincoln freeing his folks "back-aways." Abraham Lincoln was a good white man. But most white men "warn't none too good to colored people," and his mother had always told him when a white man said anything to him he should always answer "yassah." So "Biffle" had followed his mother's instructions to the letter. He would move to one side when he met a white person on the road, for he somehow always felt a little fear until they were out of his sight. He felt he wasn't quite as good as the white boys. Didn't they go to that nice new school house on the hill? Had he not peeked through the fence into the yard and seen the swings, and the baseball diamond? The school he went to didn't have any of these things. He didn't know, but there was just that difference between being white and colored. Granny once said when he asked her, "Child you jus' ain't nevver satisfied. I 'membah when just white folks could go to dat school you're goin' to, and now dey givin' it to de colored folks." Well "Biffle" couldn't see why he should have to take a discarded school, but then wasn't everything that he owned discarded stuff, his pants, his sweater, his shoes? He had been used to discarded things—so why not a discarded school?

Who could blame him for sort of wishing he were white? Of course he often repeated parrot like, that "bein' a nigger is way better than bein' po' white trash," but down in him there was an ever-present feeling of jealousy. He was sick of people's gifts and "frow-aways." They sort of made him to feel like a throw-away.

Well, well, well . . . Here was "Biffle" seeing a new world where colored people dressed better than white folks, and really lived in style. They had money, too—a thing "Biffle" always thought was made "for white only" as are most of the good things in life. College was going to be the place for him from that day on. No more going to discarded schools, no more playin' with dirty nigger boys, but from now on he was going to live in class!

And he really meant it . . . For days instead of going to school, he would head for the college dormitories, where, after a forced shower bath, he was ready to join the students going to class. His first acquaintance was Georgie, the young freshman prodigy. Perhaps it was the very slight difference in size that made him attach himself to this boy. And then "Biffle" had been instinctively attracted by the fact that Georgie wasn't as swell a dresser as the others, and would perhaps be more willing to pal with him.

Georgie took him to chemistry class and that afternoon gave him a pair of pants that were old, but somewhat cleaner than those he had on. As a matter of fact, by five o'clock he had made many friends. He didn't go begging for something to eat that day. Someone else had given him an old gray flannel shirt, and a fourth a tie. Joe, the football guard, had given him a dime to buy milk and crackers at lunch time.

"Biffle" had been in every building now except one, the dining hall. And how he longed to get in there! The hot food steaming in the kitchen smelled so good from outside. Some of the students jestingly told him that one didn't pay any money for these good meals; one just walked in, sat down to a table, ate, and walked out. "Biffle's" mouth watered for such a meal. Some of the jesters told him that he could eat at the guest table if he would just walk in the dining hall and ask Miss Washington, the lady in charge, where he might sit.

Somehow, "Biffle" just couldn't get up enough nerve to go through the door. All morning he hadn't noticed much difference between himself and the other boys. They had all been kind to him. But something was saying to him, "You can't eat in there. That ain't for your kind." He looked around to see if anyone was looking. All eyes were centered on him, and he lost his courage. Two or three times he made an attempt to enter, but each time he had the same experience. The fourth time courage surged high within him, and he pushed his way through—only to walk into the arms of a young man. "Biffle" looked up in amazement at the man who blocked his path. He was medium height, yellow-skinned, with shiny black hair. His dapper oxford-grey ensemble caught "Biffle's" eye.

"Get out of here! You can't come in here! Get out I say! Get out!" And with that a yellow hand pushed him through the door and down the side stairs. It was the college smoothie, Robert Jerome Plankey who had done that.

"Biffle" resented the push and the tone of the voice. He had resisted the brute force, but it was too much for him. Now he stood angry and hurt at the foot of the stairs, with Plankey glowering over him, arms akimbo. "Nigger! Go where you belong!" With that, he took out his silk handkerchief, wiped his hands and strutted back through the door.

"The hope of us poor folks"

For the first time in his life Biffle had really been hurt by that word "nigger". Many a white boy had called him that, but he could always answer back "white trash", which was really much worse. But here was one of his own kind calling him nigger!

"You'se just a nigger yo'se'f. A dressed up yallah nigger!" He cried out in despair. The blood surged through his veins. There was a beating within him that urged him forward, and kept him from retreating. For another minute he pouted, spat hot spit, thought of guns, rocks, sticks, and all sorts of weapons. Then with the nonchalance born of extremity, he shouted, "Damn you nigger!" and went home bruised, but satisfied.

I don't believe "Biffle" was ever seen on the campus again. Most of the boys were glad that the little rascal was gone. "He was so dirty." . . . "Then, it wasn't the place for him". A nine year old boy should be in school, and when one refuses to go to school at that age something's wrong with him. Also, hadn't Dr. Bolden said that "Biffle" was a moron? Didn't he tell a group of girls one afternoon when they met the little urchin roaming across the campus, "There's an example of the negligence of government officials. Now that boy should be in a home for the feeble minded. He can hardly read or write. And he's nine years old, imagine that!"

The boys also hated to have him ask them for money; for "Biffle" knew just when to approach them—when their girls friends stood by. They just couldn't refuse then. They would toss him a dime and remark, "You know, I got a soft spot somewhere." The girls would compliment them on their generosity. Inside, the boys cursed and swore at the little brat who didn't know his place.

After the dining room incident, no more was seen of "Biffle". He was through with the college. He came among them hungry and they gave him charity. He was half naked and they gave him their discarded garments. But not once did they take him in as a part of themselves. They were too secure, too happy, too selfish, too busy preparing for the great task of "leading the Race" to hear a helpless black youngster crying for a chance to live.

I felt very guilty and disgusted as I stumbled along the narrow road leading from old lady Gandy's "laundry" to the campus. For I was heading for the little world upon the hill where life seemed a rosy picture; where stomachs were full with bread not toiled for, where bodies were clothed with superfluous fineries.

"Race leader, race leader, RACE LEADER!"

The Negro and the Jew

By JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

This is the final installment of a Study in Race Prejudice. The first appeared in the June *Crisis*

IT was the conviction of Julius Rosenwald that the Negro would have to acquire the tools of education to obtain a larger share of opportunity and freedom. He felt that the Jews' mental discipline had enabled him to acquire economic prestige and professional success which in turn opened the gates to political and social equality. From this conviction, he gave huge sums to Negro education. It remains to be seen whether this faith will be justified. The white masses of the South think, or are made to think, that an educated "nigger" is a menace. Certainly, the Jew's prominence in the academic and professional life of Germany provoked the Nazis to create the myth of the "intellectual beast"; to all the other antagonisms was added the antagonism of the stupid toward the educated.

The third major form of reaction has been in the movements of colonization, involving the establishment of a National Home. The Zionist Movement appealed to many oppressed Jews as the only real solution of their problem as a minority group. Only in their own land, they felt, could they develop their ideals and personalities free from the pressure of a hostile majority. Positive historical goals tied up with the religion and culture of the Jew provided the *rationale* of Zionism, but anti-Semitism gave the impetus to the actual colonization of Palestine. The Dreyfus case compelled Theodor Herzl, an assimilated Vienesse Jew, to take the leadership of the Movement, while the May Laws of Russia in 1888 drove the first group of modern settlers to the Holy Land.

The Garvey Movement, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, offers, in intention at least, a striking parallel to Zionism. Marcus Garvey, the founder, claimed divine inspiration for his acts. A reading of his "Philosophy" and a study of his movements, however, makes it appear highly probable that he had studied the life of Herzl. He came to the American Negro masses as a stranger from the West Indies. He had absorbed the tradition of L'Ouverture and Dessalines, the black kings of a free people. He built up a romantic past in Africa, and exhorted the masses of American-Africans to return to the land of their fathers, and become a free people. Until he fell afoul of the law and was sentenced to Atlanta, Garvey stirred the Negro masses as they had never been stirred before. He was hailed as the black Moses, the Messiah, Jesus. He organized his followers into phalanxes, and regiments; placed elaborately titled leaders over the battalions; and had actually recruited his first band of emigrants for the Black Republic, when he was arrested. There are many units of the Garvey Movement still in existence—a tribute to the organizing genius of the man, and an evidence of the fact that America holds out little prospect of equality for its black citizens.

The more intellectual leaders of Negro life, W. E. B. DuBois, Charles S. Johnson, R. R. Moton, E. K. Jones, frowned upon Garvey. They considered him a charlatan and his plea for a Black Republic as the sheerest nonsense. They helped, it is alleged, to indict Garvey. The notables in American Jewish life felt the same way about Zionism and the Zionist leaders. They tried to sabotage the movement at Versailles when the Balfour Declaration was confirmed. There are Jews who would rather be second-class citizens in Germany than free and equal members of a Hebrew Commonwealth.

Attacking the religious, melioristic and nationalistic solutions of the race problem as evasive and futile, are the members of the Left Movements. They believe with Marx that prejudice is but a phase of the class struggle. They believe that if you remove the economic advantages which the in-group derives from its proscription of the out-group, the other supports of race prejudice would quickly crumble. The most violent opponents of Judaism in Russia were the Jewish Communists, the Yevseksia. On the holiest fast day of the year, Yom Kippur, members of this party paraded before synagogues eating ham and displaying banners which bore the legend: "Religion is the opiate of the masses". In the same manner Negro Communists in the South have openly ridiculed the reactionary and superstitious-ridden leadership of the Negro church. The defenders of the boys in the Scottsboro case have consistently proclaimed that this is an incident of the class struggle and not a phase of the race issue. Jewish Communists refuse to see the persecution of the Jews in Germany as a race issue. They ridicule all attempts of Jewish defense which are not in the form of an attack on fascistic capitalism. In Madison Square Garden, at a Communist rally, one of the speakers reported that a certain German Jewish banker, when reproached for contributing to the Nazi campaign fund, answered: "Better five pogroms than one revolution".

Marxists have made a classic example of economic determinism out of the fact that slavery flourished in the South because slave labor could be used in the culture of cotton, but did not flourish in the North where such labor proved unprofitable. They interpret all forms of social and civil discrimination as designed to aid the preservation of the economic peonage of the oppressed class. They present as the most compelling proof of their thesis the fact that anti-Semitism has practically disappeared in Russia, where it had been the official policy of the state and church, and supposedly rooted in the very soul of the muzhik. The Soviets claim that this automatically resulted from the elimination of job competition among workers. Others maintain that the severe punishment meted out to anti-Semites has merely driven race prejudice under cover. Scrutator, the Georgian writer, interprets the Stalin-Trotzky schism as a racial and not an economic conflict. He points to the cleansing of Jews from official positions after the defeat of Trotzky as proof of his contention. Surely in the long history of the Jew, there have been many instances of prejudice directed against him which were not economically motivated. The social barrier which the Gentile elite erect against even the wealthiest, most cultured Jewish families can hardly be explained in Marxian terms. Still, it is not improbable that with the removal of the economic advantages that are bound up with many forms of race discrimination, the religious, the social and the psychological supports of the in-group out-group stratification may be considerably weakened. Such at least, is the firm conviction of growing numbers of young Jews and Negroes who are "passing" out of their racial groupings into the proletarian comradery that knows neither black nor white, Jew nor Gentile.

Whatever be the human motivations or impersonal causes that make for race prejudice, the pressure of the in-group develops certain psychological characteristics which leave their seal on the personality of the out-group members. Anyone who has lived among large sections of Jews and Negroes will detect affinities in individual behavior patterns that cut across the superficial differences

of skin color and the more vital difference of tradition. There are in both groups, all the variations of the oppression psychosis from the sense of noble martyrdom to the paranoic delusion of persecution. There is the vicarious glory which every Negro feels in the achievement of a fellow Negro and every Jew feels in the achievement of a fellow Jew. The American Hebrew may take racial pride in the success of an Einstein, while the *Chicago Defender* may boast of the first Negro to be appointed assistant postmaster of a town—but the vicarious glow is the same.

There is the psychology of defeatism where individuals of both groups counsel a deliberate refusal to propagate children whose race is as much of a handicap in their opinion as blindness or feeblemindedness. There are blatant ones in both groups who try by shouting in public to drown the sense of inferiority beaten into them by a thousand petty discriminations. There are also those who look upon the dominant class with a sense of moral superiority whether from the religious faith that the Lord will exalt the humble and depose the haughty or from the equally consoling conviction that power vulgarizes, while suffering refines the soul.

Then there are the toadies and lick-spittles who "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee knowing that favor follows fawning". They are forever concerned with what the Gentiles will say or what the white folks will think. Nothing in their own group life is sanctioned if it might in any way offend the sensibilities of the outside majority. Negro or Jewish leaders, writers, artists must first be approved by the Gentile or the white folk before they find acceptance among their own. Rabbis have been selected for wealthy congregation on the basis of their "appeal" to Gentiles. In Negro life the man who looks and acts like white folks is assured of preference in almost any enterprise. The subterfuge and the artificiality practiced by many Jews to eliminate all vestige of their Jewish origin would not be so pathetic if they did not defeat their own ends. In the higher brackets of the social scale, the Gentile has the aristocratic tradition of cultural tolerance, even active appreciation for the unique. The Jew who attempts to gain his friendship by imitating Gentile manners and blindly adapting his standards, receives only the deepest contempt.

Among the poorer masses, the imitative devices take on the aspect of the ludicrous. The heavy "Oxford" accent of the Hester Street climber and the Latin pomposity of the Harlem intellectual are often better than vandeville. It is a common sight to watch plump black-haired daughters of Israel emerge from beauty parlors with a bleached bobbed hair, blond eyebrows. In Harlem, during the flush days, the Poro School of Beauty made a mint "unkinking" the hair of chocolate flappers (while paradoxically the Lanoil Permanent Wave Shop across the street did a flourishing business curling the locks of dizzy blondes). The *Chicago Defender* has run as many as fifteen advertisements of different bleaching powders and lotions in a single issue. Some of the substantial Negro fortunes have been made in selling preparations which guarantee a skin as white as snow in ten treatments "if directions are carefully followed."

The chameleon and the salamander follow the biological law of adaptation to environment more gracefully and successfully than the Jew and the Negro who vainly ape the artifices and changing fashions of a psuedo-environment.

Feeding on the out-group's slavish obeisance to the approval of the in-group are a host of fixers, go-betweens and politicians. They make a living by promising to get favors from the people in power. They also promise to deliver the vote of Jews or Negroes to aspiring politicians. They do very little of either but they wax fat on the air of ignorance and suspicion that always exists between an in-group and an out-group.

Of all the personality types developed by the out-group in its resistance to pressure, none is so tragic as the marginal man. He is the Negro or the Jew who has completely outgrown his racial ties and who feels that his tastes and values make him definitely a part of the larger world. In some instances these men have actually passed into the dominant group and have lost all contact with their origins, until a lynching or a race riot, a Ford or Hitler campaign brings them back. Some are brutally forced to return by the savage unwillingness of the majority to accept their sincere conversion, as in Germany today. Others return from an inner compulsion—a feeling of self-respect or of sympathy for their oppressed kinsmen. They steel themselves with the thought that a majority capable of such brutality is unworthy of their loyalty. Heinrich Heine, Lord Melchet, Jacob Wasserman, Emil Ludwig, Ludwig Lewisohn, Disraeli, among others, have all made the pilgrimage back to Israel in mind if not in act. Only rarely do they successfully re-orient themselves. They have pulled up their roots in the minority group and cannot find a home in the majority. They become split personalities, "dybbukim". They pay a heavy toll in shattered energies and agony of spirit as a reading of "Up-Stream" or "The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man" so poignantly reveals.

While strident nationalism creates walls between nations, competition for employment is erecting stony barriers between the groups within the nation. In such circumstances, it is naive to expect that minorities will receive greater understanding or more equable treatment. They will not only be the first to be excluded from the lean board of the communal table but they must be prepared to serve as scapegoats when the dominant folk demand an object on which to vent irritation with their own misdoings. This interpretation of race prejudice is offered not only that Negro and Jew may help each other in their common plight, but also that the suave apologists for the in-group may not add the insult of specious reasoning to the injury of persecution.

A Negro Chamber of Labor

By ALBERT WEISBORD

Mr. Weisbord will be remembered as the sagacious leader of the Passaic strike of 1926. His analysis of the problem of lynching is novel in that he finds a place for it in the class struggle. His condemnation of the radical Negro "prima donnas" ought to be read with interest.

AN interesting experiment is being made in Paterson, New Jersey. In that city there is being organized a Negro Chamber of Labor. Paterson is like the typical industrial city of this country. The several thousand Negroes in the city are totally unorganized. Outside of the poolrooms and churches, there are virtually no places where the Negro workers can turn.

Of course, in Paterson, there are racially mixed organizations which stand for equality and which take in Negroes into their organizations. However, the fact remains, that only a tiny, almost infinitesimal, proportion of the Negro people are in such inter-racial organizations. Such organizations can train the vanguard of the Negro masses, but the average colored worker is not, and, under present circumstances, cannot be drawn into them. Supplemental to the black-white organizations already existing and supporting them, there must be established Negro organizations where the most backward Negro worker can feel at home and realize that here, at last, is a place where he can bring all his troubles and find sympathetic support.

As a matter of fact, in many instances, this type of radical organization, far from developing a vanguard among the Negroes, has really set back the organization of the colored workers. How many intelligent Negroes has the Communist Party spoiled, for example? The advanced Negro worker, once brought into the Party is soon separated from the rest of the Negro people whom he once knew. He becomes isolated and estranged from his own race, where in most cases he can do the most effective work.

Concurrently, these inter-racial organizations are so immature themselves, are so fond of "shows" and "pageants" and "demonstrations," that they have used the few Negroes who have entered their ranks as exhibits and show pieces. Like Voodoo witch doctors who put on masks to impress their tribe members and enemies, the Communist leaders dance around and around with the few Negroes in their organization as their own "black masks."

Most of the Negroes brought into such inter-racial organizations soon realize their role. The majority leave in disgust. A minority become reconciled to their servile status, they enter into the clique leadership and become part of the apparatus. They take on the cynicism of the white bureaucracy. Or they strut around like prima donnas. Do any of them really undertake serious work among the Negro masses? How many of them?

And yet, sooner or later, mass organization of the Negro exploited and oppressed toilers must be attempted. In the same proportion as Labor realizes itself and its own importance, must the Negro come into his own and take his proper place in the very forefront of Labor. In the United States, especially, the Negro represents the very heart of the Labor question. Precisely because the United States was the "freest" country in the world, for this very reason was it forced to become the country of the most developed slavery. This was so, because here, instead of the peasant turning into a proletarian, as in Europe, there was the opportunity for the worker to turn into a small property holder and to work for himself. If, in America, all classes, relative to Europe, were moved up a notch—up and back, if you please—if in this country the worker turned into an *entrepreneur* or farmer or mechanic, who was there to create the profit for the capitalist? The answer was obviously the Negro, the slave. Labor had to be chained physically before it could be exploited in the factories and fields of capitalism as profit-making labor.

In the literal sense of the term the Negro has symbolized simple, unskilled, labor, the bases of all labor in this country. And now when all labor has become unskilled, when unskilled labor is the backbone and the mainstay of all the struggles of the oppressed, can the Negro fail to take his place there, in the very vanguard of the struggle? Let us say plainly that, here in America, THE NEGRO IS LABOR AND LABOR IS THE NEGRO. That is why the Negro question is in reality the very heart of the Labor question. And he who does not understand the Negro question can not begin to understand labor in the United States.

In many respects the Negro worker is far in advance of his white brother. Is there any Negro who believes that there is "democracy" in the United States, that all men are treated as equal, that there are no "classes," that everyone has an equal chance to become President, etc.? All the silly illusions which still exist among such large sections of the white workers have absolutely no place among the Negroes. In this land of "equal opportunity," every Negro knows that somewhere there is a social "line" which one can cross only if he means to fight to a finish. No one can tell a Negro that rich and poor are the same and that all can become rich. Close to the bitter realities of life, the Negro toiler in many respects is far superior in political and social knowledge, than the white worker who seems so far superior to him in technical and general information. Bringing, as he will, this rich knowledge to the ranks of the working class generally, the Negro, for this reason also, will be in the very vanguard of the working class.

The present period must bring with it the real organization of the Negro masses. More and more the old liberal individualism is disappearing and collectivism is taking its place. And the Negro masses will not be forever in the rear. Up to now, the various Negro organizations that exist have not been able to fill the bill adequately. The Urban League is more of a charity organization, or at best a mutual-aid society; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does not pay sufficient attention to the material interests of the Negro workers and does not believe that the leadership of the movement must be in the hands of the Negro proletariat and toiler, and that this is the class destined to change the world. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights has shifted the whole question to a demand for "land and liberty" showing that it is a mere "democratic" organization, rather than a proletarian one. Besides, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights is only a Communist Party affiliate; its whole purpose is to be one of the Negro "masks" with which the Party leaders can dance around and pretend to make an impression. As Stalinism has killed everything it touches, so must it kill the League of Struggle for Negro Rights as an effective labor or revolutionary organization.

Here, then, are ample reasons why the organization of the Negro Chamber of Labor is opportune and fulfills an historic need. Under the blows of the Roosevelt Administration which have rendered the lot of the Negro much worse relatively than before, such an organization has become an imperative necessity. The N.R.A. has carefully excluded from any of its provisions those occupations where Negro labor predominates. The majority of the Negro workers work as agricultural laborers or as domestics. Precisely these industries have been left untouched, so far as hours and minimum wages are concerned. Similarly, the A.A.A. has enormously deepened the crisis for the Negro sharecropper and tenant, rendering his life unbearably miserable. The present situation provides the immediate political and economic prerequisites for a mass organization of the type of the Negro Chamber of Labor.

The aim of the Negro Chamber of Labor is to be the militant trade-union center where all the Negro workers will be able to turn for help. Are Negro houseworkers and chauffeurs slaving away terribly long hours for practically nothing? Then the Negro Chamber of Labor will begin to organize these men and women and fight for their interests. Are Negro building trades workers discriminated against by the white trade unions? Then the Negro Chamber of Labor will fight to get them into these unions and to break down the color line. Are the Negro workers in the various factories doing the hardest work and getting the lowest pay? Is the Negro being discriminated against in unemployment relief? Then the Negro Chamber of Labor will see to it that these abuses stop.

Far from being a Jim-Crow organiza-

tion, the Negro Chamber of Labor will see that the greatest possible solidarity between white and black sections of the working class becomes a tremendous reality. *The best way to stop Jim Crowism is to organize the power of the Negro masses, to make that power felt and appreciated.* Any swinishness on the part of the white workers can then soon be broken. Let us have no fear that the Negro masses will choose to become segregated and isolated from the great body of white proletarians.

An important task of the Negro Chamber of Labor must be the building of an inter-racial physical defense organization for the smashing of the lynching of Negroes and poor white toilers. What is wrong about lynching is not the act of lynching itself but the reactionary direction which lynching generally takes. Lynching is too old and important an American custom for us to scold at it like fishwives. We must use the direct street action of the masses for our own purposes. We must hail, for example, the action of the poor farmers in Lemars, Iowa, who recently threw a rope around the neck of a judge and threatened to lynch him if he permitted further foreclosures of their farms. It would have been a great demonstration had there been Negro farmers in the crowd. Certainly the Negro Chamber of Labor must not have any illusions that the Federal government is capable or willing to stop the lynching of Labor in the black skin. Labor itself will have to do this job, and can do this job only by direct physical action.

There is one further point about the Negro Chamber of Labor. It will be a place where Negroes can assume full charge and responsibility of important posts and work. In all the inter-racial organizations the Negro, of necessity, has been a minority and, willy-nilly, his opportunities have been limited in regard to leadership and responsibility for execution of policy. The Negro Chamber of Labor means to change all this. It will be a place where the Negro himself can step forward, develop his own genius and contribute his own experience in his own way, to the general labor and revolutionary movement. Whether the Negro will have his own republic in the Southland or not, is for him to say and for the white workers to support his choice no matter what it may be, but at least there can be one place established where the Negro, here and today, can declare, this is his own—truly his own—and where he can decide his leadership and his methods.

Let the Negro worker raise his head high. His day is coming.

Henry Lewis Bailey

By G. DAVID HOUSTON

A eulogy delivered before the School Club, Washington, D. C., in February, 1934.

FOR a number of years, the figure of Doctor Henry Lewis Bailey, though diminutive in size, loomed most exalted in our gatherings. With a dramatic devotion to Puritanic conservatism, a profound, immutable honesty of purpose, and a reverence for the past, he sat among us as a veritable sage, ready to check at any time too much unbridled progressivism of the venturesome, present era.

But our fellow member has gone, leaving us abruptly in the summer, without giving us the slightest inkling that he was not to resume his pleasant association with us this school year. Gone, to be sure, not before his prime, but leaving us at a time when we could least spare him—at a time when the cause of education needs the clear thinker, the cautious experimenter, and the sagacious prophet.

We who have been privileged to know Dr. Bailey over a protracted period of years can testify that he was eminent for the fulfillment of duty. Filial devotion, and vocational devotion were characteristic of our departed colleague. During the declining years of his aged mother, he saw to it that every comfort was hers, bringing her from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Washington, that she might spend her last days under the comfort of his roof.

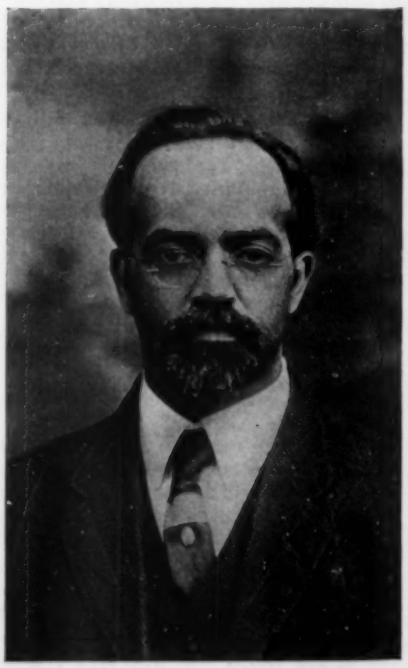
His concern for his wife and children was visualized in his constant thought of their happiness. He was willing to labor day, night, winter, and summer, in order that he might give them such comforts as his income could afford. He saw to it that his children were carefully schooled, often advising that he believed that the best legacy that he could leave his children was a well-ordered mental training.

Strong, too, was his devotion to his work. Severely trained in the Classics, with an intensive fervor for the foreign languages, he became, if not a showy teacher, a thorough one, who placed scholarship first and foremost as an educational endeavor and ideal. Yet, he was never noticeably active in promulgating his educational dogmas, except, perchance, in our own close gatherings. In a sense, he lived in fruitful obscurity, but ever in intimate communion with his own ideals.

He loved his classroom, never lost a day from his classes, but lamented the tendency of the modern youth to treat study and scholarship with such reckless abandon. With him, school was the attractive institution for the worthy, for those who had not only the aptitude for scholastic training, but the ardent desire as well. He remained, however, a faithful teacher, ever ready to render the sort of service that can not be computed in terms of the hours of the clock. No matter what the call might be, affecting the welfare of his students, he would always answer it, and answer it cheerfully.

Henry Bailey was graduated from Harvard College, in the class of 1889. As my own home served as an attracting center for the college students, I met him, when I was a mere boy in the primary grades. I can recall what an inspiration it was to me to receive from this young Harvard student warm words of encouragement to study hard in the primary school, and to look forward to the grammar grades, to the high school classes, and even to the college established in our midst,

Those were the days in which the Sunday School classes attracted some of the most dynamic personalities in the community. Doctor Bailey was among the Harvard men who delighted in giving



The Late Henry Lewis Bailey

service on Sunday to the religious development of the community youth. It was my privilege again to know him in the Sunday School, where he manifested an interest in the children who flocked, in those days, to the unquestioned influence of the Sunday School lesson.

Never did I think, in those remote days, that the young Harvard student, to whom I was attracted when I hardly knew my primer, was to be some day a closer friend, a boon companion, and a fellow member of the same educational organization and Club.

His teaching career began at Tuskegee, Alabama, from which engagement he came to Washington, where he spent the rest of his career. His professional life in Washington did not escape some obstacles; but perhaps if he had not encountered such obstacles, he might have appeared only as a man of ordinary mold and temperament. Men who improve have to change; and men who change have to meet with obstacles.

Undaunted by any adverse circumstance, he remained courageous, hopeful, and resourceful throughout his professional and civic career. His patience and perseverance stood high among the virtues which endeared him to his closest friends.

Perhaps Henry Bailey's most enduring contribution to the community lay in his own exemplary character. Throughout my long acquaintance and association with him, I have never known him to display any qualities inconsistent with the loftiest ideals of a well-bred gentleman. Profanity was foreign to his tongue. Vindictiveness never lodged in his heart. Nobility of soul was his choicest possession.

Infirmity, which decays the old, never made any visible inroads upon the body of Doctor Bailey. There was a youthful activity about him, that characterized his being. He was fond of exercise. Before the streets became dangerous with vehicles, he was seen frequently on his bicycle. In recent years, he took to walking, with no signs of fatigue.

How well do some of us remember how he loved to dance at the school functions! How agile he was at our outings, eager for the sports, even if he had to improvise a bathing-suit! How actively did he engage in the baseball games, whether he was batting the ball, or chasing the flies! No outing ever meant more to any member of the Club than it did to Doctor Bailey. And one of the most pleasant memories I have of him is the eagerness he manifested on the following Monday after the picnic to check on my condition, to ascertain if our vigorous exercise had left me as spry as he obviously was.

It was this spirit of youth in Henry Bailey that caused him to stand up so well under any burden that might be lodged upon his shoulders. Work to him was no task; it was merely one means of spending a busy day. He was a model of industry, as well as a model of optimism. He will be missed not merely by our group of schoolmen, but the community at large.

Were it possible to protract the limits of human life indefinitely, we might complain of the heavy blow that Fate has dealt us, in taking away so abruptly our beloved associate; but in such matters we have to bow to the inevitable will of the Almighty.

Doctor Henry Lewis Bailey is now at rest; but this reflection, soberly conceived, will not produce an occasion entirely for grief. Men perish only when their characters have not made them immortal. Henry Bailey, though removed from the physical presence of our meetings, will ever live in our memory, through the animating and inspiring examples of his true manhood.

The Poet's Corner

Remembered Words from an Old Psalter

By Jonathan Henderson Brooks

THOUGH we have passed over the bad lands of Moab
And the white burning sands of Midian,
We are wanderers still,
And in a strange land—
Looking for peace where no good is;
And for a time of health, in the midst of trouble!

We have tried the bitter word,
But it did not condemn them;
Nor was the foolish sword able to persuade them.
Neither could shining truth
Nor any delight of music soften them.

And we have taken counsel of the Galilean
And rendered good unto them.
Still, hell prevails!
Love even—
Even Love fails
To kindle fires of kindness in their hearts.

There is but one way left before us now:
To trust the far horizon and go on, somehow,—
With neither servile whine nor futile hate,
Nor yet with folded hands of speechlessness—
Until we find the dawn.
We shall arrive, only if we go on.
For heaven contemns the beggared helplessness
Of them who merely fold their hands and wait.

Castles

By Ruth A. Duckett

WHITE man, build your castle
Build it high and fair,
Till its lofty steeples
Split the faintest air.

Gold will be your windows
Feathery your bed,
Silken be your costly robes
Rich your daily bread.

They who come a-knocking
Though they knock again,
Turn them to the desert
Be they dark-skinned men.

Build your castle, black man
In your heart of dreams,
Love will shine for windows,
Faith hold up the beams.

Whoso comes a-knocking
He may enter in,
Be he yellow man or red,
Brown, or white of skin.

Black man's castle—very fine
White man's—mighty grand;
One is built upon a rock
One upon the sand.

Now That She Is Dead

(*For the Mother of Paul Lawrence Dunbar*)

By Alsa Landon Root

AND now that she is dead, I wonder who
Will greet the visitors that come to pay
Their homage to her son? And who will show
Them up the narrow stairs to the sacred room
Where row on row his precious books still stand—
His desk still as he left it long ago—
His couch—his chair in which he sat and dreamed
And made the sad fair songs we know and love—
Pictures and nick-nacks long so dearly cherished—
All these her hands, and lovingly, have tended:
In this way she could proudly serve him still . . .
Now she is gone, I wonder who will dust
His books, and empty tea-things on the table?

William Taylor Burwell Williams

Mr. Williams is the Twentieth Spingarn Medalist. The Presentation will be made at the Twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 27-July 1, 1934 by the Reverend J. Raymond Henderson, Minister of the Greater Wheat Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia

HE was born on a farm near Stonebridge, Clarke County, Virginia, some sixty years ago. The leading white people of the county were the well known aristocratic families, the Burwells, Nelsons, Randolphs, Carters and Pages. The friendly relations between the white and colored people of that section continue unbroken.

At an early age he entered the public village school at Millwood in Clarke County. This he attended regularly for five or six months each year until he was seventeen, when he became a teacher in the Peace and Plenty public school of this county. After teaching three terms he entered Hampton Institute in the fall of 1886 and was graduated in the class of 1888. He then remained at Hampton for a year as a teacher in the Whittier School, the elementary department of this institution. In the fall of 1889 he entered Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, from which he was graduated in the class of 1893. From Phillips Academy he entered Harvard College, where he took his A.B. degree with the class of 1897.

From college he went directly to Indianapolis as principal of School No. 24, afterwards named the McCoy School. He served in this position for five years, when, at the solicitation of Dr. H. B. Frissell, Principal of Hampton Institute, he resigned to accept work at his Alma Mater, Hampton Institute, as field agent for the school and for the then active Southern Education Board. From the latter he was soon transferred, at the request of Dr. Wallace Buttrick, to the position of field agent for the General Education Board, and, a little later, for the John F. Slater Fund, also. Finally when the Negro Rural School Fund, popularly known as the Jeanes Fund, was created, he was transferred from the service of the General Education Board to that of the Jeanes Fund. From then until now he has served both the John F. Slater Fund and the Jeanes Fund. However, until 1919 he kept his residence at Hampton Institute and taught there in the summer schools, served on important committees and as an editor of the *Southern Workman*. In 1919 he moved to Tuskegee Institute and became an advisor to Dr. R. R. Moton, the principal. Finally when the college was created at Tuskegee Institute he was appointed Dean of the College, which position he still holds in addition to his field work for the John F. Slater Fund and the Jeanes Fund.

Meanwhile he served for two terms as president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; he was one of the organizers of the Negro Organization Society of Virginia; in 1918 he acted as assistant supervisor of vocational training in colored schools for the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department and helped in establishing vocational units of the Students Army Training Corps; he has served on two educational commissions sent by the Federal Government to Haiti, and on one to the Virgin Islands; he is a member of the N.E.A. and serves on a committee from that body to cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

Winners of the Spingarn Medal

1. **Professor E. E. Just**, head of the department of physiology of Howard University Medical School. Presented February 12, 1915, by Charles S. Whitman, Governor of New York. Award for researches in biology.

2. **Major Charles Young**, U. S. Army. Presented February 22, 1916, at Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass., by Samuel Walker McCall, Governor of Massachusetts. Award for services in organizing the Liberian constabulary and developing roads of the Republic of Liberia.

3. **Harry T. Burleigh**, composer, pianist, singer. Presented May 16, 1917, in Washington, D. C., by United States Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington. Award for excellence in the field of creative music.

4. **William Stanley Braithwaite**, poet, literary critic and editor. Presented May 3, 1918, in the First Baptist Church of Providence, R. I., by R. Livingstone Beeckman, Governor of Rhode Island. Award for distinguished achievement in literature.

5. **Archibald H. Grimké**, former U. S. Consul in Santo Domingo; President American Negro Academy; author; President of the District of Columbia Branch, N. A. A. C. P. Presented June 27, 1919, in Cleveland, Ohio, by Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University. Award for seventy years of distinguished services to his country and his race.

6. **William E. Burghardt Du Bois**, author; editor of "THE CRISIS." Presented June 1, 1920, on the campus of Atlanta University, by Bishop John Hurst. Award for the founding and calling together of the Pan-African Congress.

7. **Charles S. Gilpin**, actor. Presented June 30, 1921, in Detroit, Mich., at the 12th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. to Mr. Gilpin by proxy, as illness prevented his appearance, the presentation being made by a representative of the Governor of Michigan; later presented in New York City to Mr. Gilpin by Mr. Spingarn in person. Award for his achievement in the title role of Eugene O'Neill's play, "Emperor Jones."

8. **Mary B. Talbert**, former President of the National Association of Colored Women. Presented June 20, 1922, in Newark, N. J., by Rabbi Solomon Foster of Newark. Award for service to the women of her race and for the restoration of the home of Frederick Douglass.

9. **George W. Carver**, head of the Department of Research and Experiment Station of Tuskegee Institute. Presented September 4, 1923, at Kansas City, Kansas, by Hon. Charles B. Griffith, Attorney-General of Kansas. Award for distinguished research in agricultural chemistry.

10. **Roland Hayes**, singer. Presented July 1, 1924, at Philadelphia, Pa., by Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, Provost and President of the University of Pennsylvania. The presentation was by proxy due to the absence of Mr. Hayes in Europe. Personal presentation was made April 7, 1925, in New York City by Mr. Walter Damrosch of the New York Symphony. Award for "reputation which he has gained as a singer in England, Germany and France and especially in America where he was last year soloist for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, . . . and because in all his singing Mr. Hayes has so finely interpreted the beauty and charm of the Negro folk song."

11. **James Weldon Johnson**, former U. S. Consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua; former editor; Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Presented June 30, 1925, by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Awarded to Mr. Johnson as author, diplomat and public servant.

12. **Carter G. Woodson**, for ten years' devoted service in collecting and publishing records of the Negro in America, culminating in the publication of "Negro Orators and Their Orations" and "Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830." Presented June 29, 1926, by Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

13. **Anthony Overton**, "because of his success in a long business career and for the crowning achievement of securing the admission of the Victory Life Insurance Company as the first Negro organization permitted to do insurance business under the rigid requirements of the State of New York." Presented June 28, 1927, at Indianapolis, Ind., by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

14. **Charles W. Chestnutt**, for his "pioneer work as a literary artist depicting the life and struggle of Americans of Negro descent, and for his long and useful career as scholar, worker and freeman of one of America's greatest cities." Presented July 3, 1928, at Los Angeles, Calif., by Hon. Buron R. Fitts, Lieutenant-Governor of California.

15. **Mordecai Wyatt Johnson**, President of Howard University, "for his successful administration as first Negro President of the leading Negro University in America, and especially for his leadership in securing, during the past year, legal authority for appropriations to Howard University by the government of the United States." Presented July 2, 1929, at Cleveland, O., by Dr. Charles F. Thwing, President Emeritus of Western Reserve University.

16. **Henry A. Hunt**, Principal of Fort Valley High and Industrial School, Fort Valley, Georgia, "for twenty-five years of modest, faithful, unselfish and devoted service in the education of Negroes of rural Georgia, and to the teaching profession in that state." Presented July 1, 1930, at Springfield, Mass., by Dr. William Allan Neilson, President of Smith College.

17. **Richard Berry Harrison**, "whose fine and reverent characterization of the Lord in Marc Connelly's play, 'The Green Pastures', has made that play the outstanding dramatic accomplishment of America in the Year 1930. But the Medal is given to Mr. Harrison not simply for this crowning accomplishment, but for the long years of his work as dramatic reader and entertainer, interpreting to the mass of colored people in church and school the finest specimens of English drama from Shakespeare down. It is fitting that in the sixty-seventh year of his life he should receive widespread acclaim for a role that typifies and completes his life work." Presented March 22, 1931, by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York.

18. **Robert R. Moton**, Tuskegee Institute. Presented May 20, 1932, by Hon. Bronson Cutting, U. S. Senator from New Mexico.

19. **Max Yergan**, for ten years American Y.M.C.A. secretary among the native students of South Africa, "a missionary of intelligence, tact and self-sacrifice, representing the gift of cooperation and culture which American Negroes may send back to their Motherland; and he inaugurated last year an unusual local movement for interracial understanding among black and white students." Presented July 1, 1933, at Chicago, Ill., by Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

MUSIC, ART, AND THE DRAMA

One Hundred Years of Music

In Boston, during the month of May, Mrs. Maud Cuney-Hare exhibited her personal collection of early American music which dates chronologically from over 100 years ago. The display was held at the William Richardson Vocal Studio and the Studio of Musical Arts. It included engraved sheet music and colored lithograph covers bearing the signatures of the first men of importance in the art of lithography. An amusing drawing by David C. Johnston, called the "American Cruickshank," for a Negro song of 1815, is among Mrs. Hare's rare items. The exhibit was visited by representative musicians of the city, including the music librarian of the Boston Public Library, and commented upon favorably by the press. Besides the collection of early American music, the pianist has for some years been assembling a collection pertaining to Negro musical achievements which she has exhibited.

The Art Ramblers

The Art Ramblers of Woodland Center, Cleveland, Ohio, presented three plays by John Matheus, "Black Damp," "Ti Yette," and "Cruiter." A large and enthusiastic audience greeted these productions. The Art Ramblers are five years old. The group was founded by Essie J. Hague, and includes Clarence Atkins, Irene Catalan, Isaac Coleman, James Hardy, Ella M. Hawkins, Martin Hoyle, Marie and Wm. Jones, Mentlow McCadden, Bennie Palmer and James Scott.

"Jethro"

"Jethro," a colorful musical pageant, by Leslie Pickney Hill, depicting the public life of the Ethiopian co-worker with Moses and his great contribution to mankind of the idea of representative government, was presented to an appreciative unsegregated audience of about 600 Negroes and white people in The Playhouse at Wilmington, Delaware, by an all-student cast from The State Teachers' College at Cheyney, Pa.

AMERICA

The National Student Council

The executive committee of the National Student Council has adopted the following resolutions on interracial relations:

"Many conditions in the world today point to the necessity for continued emphasis on interracial education in the Student Movement. We find racial tensions growing at home and abroad. The fresh outbreak of racial prejudice in Germany, the appalling number of lynchings in America, the disproportionate burden of unemployment borne by the Negro as the marginal worker in America, all these facts demand that we increase our efforts in helping students to understand and to act intelligently in bringing about social change. The Student Movement must provide the resources which will enable students to engage in courageous experimentation in the field of race relations."

"The importance of interracial contacts for individuals has been stressed in the past. Efforts should now be made to change institutions, such as laws, education, economic systems, church practices, and those of character building agencies, which make for unfair discrimination. Negroes and whites must join together in this kind of interracial activity. The Student Movement must assume responsibility for helping students find techniques for the building of a social order which is not bi-racial."

"We must help students to see that the present bi-racial system involves wastes and duplication. Society can not afford to support separate educational systems, separate social and character building organizations, separate businesses. Because economic factors are basic in the adequate solution of racial problems, we should encourage students to work for fundamental changes in the economic order."

Negro Officers

A group of colored men who ranked as commissioned officers during the last war have organized The National Association of Colored Officers. Captain Herbert R. Gould, Boston, Massachusetts, is president. Major Louis T. Wright, Captain Charles Garvin and Major DeHaven Hinkson are vice-presidents. Lieutenant Richard H. Walker, Boston, Massachusetts, is secretary.

Obituary

James A. Rolph, Governor of California, is dead. The man who publicly condoned lynching was known as the play-boy of California politics. He was for many years the Mayor of San Francisco. As Governor of California he will be remembered on two counts: He refused to pardon Tom Mooney, and he condoned lynching. In both instances he played to the mob. He might have been elected president of some place if he had lived. Things like that have a way of happening in America.

New England Social Workers

The annual conference of the colored social workers of New England and vicinity was held at Camp Atwater, East Brookfield, Massachusetts, in June. Among the speakers were: Harold M. Kingsley, Robert C. Weaver, John H. Burr, W. N. DeBerry and Henry K. Craft.

Not a Deal, but a Deck

Golden B. Darby, president of the New York State Conference of Negro Social Workers, told 110 delegates present at the second annual meeting held in New York that instead of just a New Deal, the Negro needs "a whole new deck—with the joker taken out of it." Mr. Darby, who is director of the Dunbar Community Center, Syracuse, said that in "my part of the State, the New Deal and the NRA have not benefited the Negro."

In an earlier session, David C. Adie, State Commissioner of Social Welfare, declared that "we may as well make up our mind that for several years six or seven million people will always be unemployed."

Ministers' Conference

The twenty-first annual Ministers' Conference of Hampton Institute will be held on the Campus, June 25-29. Among the leaders will be Bishop Edwin H. Hughes, Canon Anson Phelps Stokes, Benjamin Brawley.

Captain Wesley Williams

Fire Lieutenant Wesley Williams has been promoted to the rank of captain. He is the first Negro to be advanced to that post. Mr. Williams was also the first Negro to be made a lieutenant. Before entering the city service, Lieutenant Williams was a letter carrier. He was appointed to the Fire Department on January 10, 1919, and was assigned to Engine Company, 55, where he has remained. According to James E. Finegan, president of the Civil Service Commission, Lieutenant Williams has two credits on his service record, both Class A ratings awarded in 1932 and 1933 for "unusual and meritorious work."

Ancient Printers

The Fleet Brothers (printers in Boston in the mid-XVIIIth Century) owned a Negro whose skill was marked in making rude cuts for the ballads and broadsides which were an important part of the printing trade. (From *Printers of the Eighteenth Century*, "Isaiah Thomas" by Charles Lemuel Nicholas in the Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 1912.)

Presbyterians and Scottsboro

In Cleveland recently, women of the Presbyterian Church in the United States attempted to present a resolution on the Scottsboro case. After a bitter discussion and debate which lasted more than four hours, it was decided that the resolution which was in the hands of Mrs. Raymond P. Keesecker of Cleveland, could not be presented. One Reverend Herman A. Klahr of Cleveland, is alleged to have stated that "we have been hearing about the Scottsboro case for months and are getting sick and tired of it." Mrs. Keesecker replied that they were going to hear about it until the boys were either released or dead.

Honors for "De Lawd"

Richard B. Harrison, the star of "The Green Pastures" was awarded an honorary degree by the Agricultural & Technical College, Greensboro, North Carolina, at its commencement exercises. Mr. Harrison formerly taught at this institution.

"Silver Jubilee Special"

The N.A.A.C.P. national office has selected the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad as the official route for the operation of the "Silver

Jubilee Special" which will conduct delegates into Kansas State from all points. The "Katy" line is the only railroad which employs a colored passenger agent, Mr. Claude Rice, Dallas, Texas.

Angelo Herndon

The Georgia Supreme Court has upheld the eighteen to twenty year sentence imposed on Angelo Herndon "for an attempt at inciting to insurrection and for having seditious literature in his possession." Herndon, a Negro, was arrested in the act of taking mail from a postoffice box which he acknowledged as his. The police confiscated his mail, which included unwrapped newspapers and pamphlets. The defense has argued that mere possession does not in fact constitute the effect of inciting to insurrection. Herndon is being defended by the International Labor Defense.

Three New Bishops

The seventeenth quadrennial session of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in session at St. Louis, Missouri, elected three new bishops: the Reverend H. P. Porter, Jackson, Tennessee; Dr. J. H. Bray, Chicago, Illinois; the Reverend J. H. Moore, present Secretary of Missions. The Reverend J. H. Martin, one of the most uncompromising men in the church, was defeated.

An Unusual Acquittal

John Porter, twenty-six, is a taxi-driver in New York. He killed a socially prominent white man who abused him because of his race. The brother and wife of the dead man asked that the charge of murder be dropped. On this plea, the court freed John Porter. The dead man was Tyler Cook Bronson of Southern Pines, North Carolina. Porter was defended by Charles Solomon, the Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York in 1933.

Colored Help in Harlem

The reopening of the Koch department store has been announced. The store will employ fifty per cent colored help by agreement. Several Harlem organizations are cooperating in a boycott on stores which cater to Negro trade, but employ no Negro help.

Socialism and the Negro

The Socialist Party in convention at Detroit, took a radical turn on the Negro question. Heretofore, the Party has always taken the position that the Negro problem was simply a phase of the general economic problem. Unanimous authorization was given for the organization of Negroes as a special phase of the work of the national executive committee.

The Party instructed the delegates not to patronize Detroit hotels which practice segregation.

Coats and Aprons

Mr. F. A. Allen owns and operates the Supreme Linen Supply Company in Detroit. When Mr. Allen first went into this business, gangsters alleged to be employed by rival concerns, threatened him with injury or death if he did not sell out his business. The answer to this threat is that Mr. Allen is still in business. He is supplying the larger part of the barber shop and beauty parlor trade in the colored sections of Detroit. He is doing an extensive business with white operators as well.

Southern Ministers on Social Justice

A group of young Southern ministers met at Monteagle, Tennessee, in May to discuss "Religion and the New Social Order." Discussion groups were conducted by Reinhold Niebuhr, the Reverend Charles Webber and Howard Kester, Secretary of the Committee on Economic and Social Justice. Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

"We condemn the manifest injustices to the Negro, as is evidenced in discrimination against him by employers and trade unions in the matter of wages and in courts of law, in his exclusion from the skilled trades, in the disproportionate sums spent for his education, in the restricting of his right to suffrage, in the operation of Jim Crow laws, in the inadequacy of housing, recreational and health facilities. We call upon church groups to make the principle of brotherhood concrete in the relationships between the races, especially in the economic area."

"We are convinced of the need of developing a radical political party for all races, composed of farmers, industrial workers and members of the middle class, with a program of socialization of natural resources, the principle means of production and distribution, including a plan for the nationalization of land with the clear understanding that the farmer retains the land that he uses. Such a party should recognize the revolutionary tradition of America, and the higher values of patriotism and religion."

MISTER JAMES CROW

Piecemeal Segregation

Mr. Hughes Spalding, white attorney of Georgia, has been praised highly in the Negro press for taking a stand against segregation in Federal homestead projects. Mr. Spalding sums up his argument in a letter to Clark Foreman, adviser on Negro problems to the Secretary of the Interior:

"There should not be any segregation in these homestead communities. In other words, there should not be a white settlement where only white people work and live, and there should not be a Negro section where only Negroes work and live. There should be no fixed plan at all. There might be a group of farms where three white men lived, and then an adjoining group with two or three Negro families. There will not be, and never has been, any social intercourse between them. Each race will have their own school and their own church, and will not molest each other."

What does Mr. Spalding advocate? It *seems* that he is actually saying the following:

1. I am against large area segregation. That would mean that the Negroes in these large areas would demand political representation. I am not in favor of that.

2. I am in favor of small area segregation. By keeping three or four white men here, and a few Negroes there, we could have precisely the same system we have now. The Negroes would serve the white people.

3. You will notice that I am saying, "There will not be, and there never has been, any social intercourse between them. Each race will have their own school and their own church, and will not molest each other." In short, I am advocating segregation.

No Cricket

The California Cricket Association has been run for fifteen years with three colored and four white teams. This year the association decided to take in another white team, but this group, made up of Englishmen who have moved to California, refused to play the colored teams on home grounds. This broke up the league.

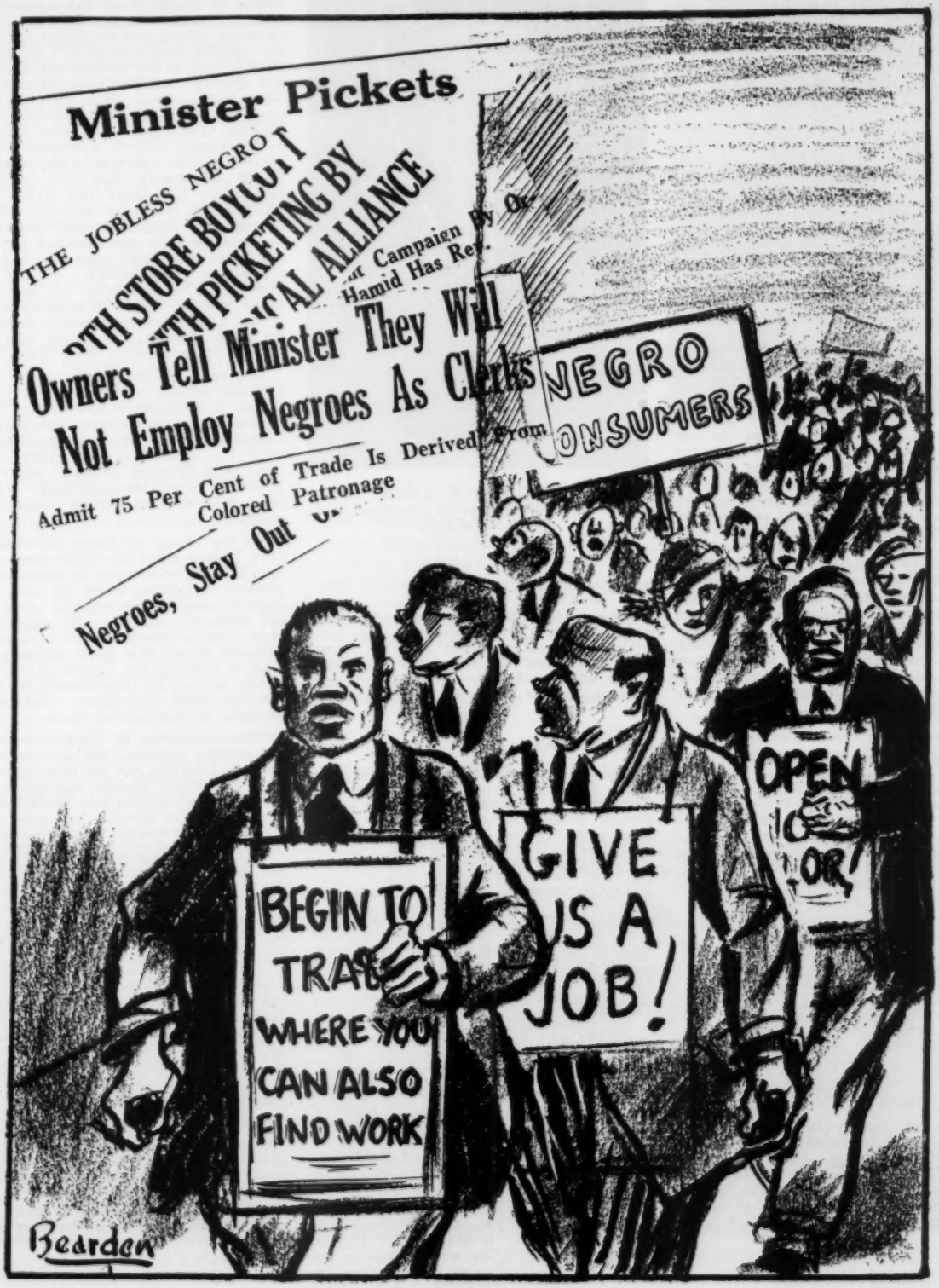
Lily, Lily, Lily-White

Gertrude Stein did not invent the above lines. They are the property of the Republican party in the South. By vote of 649 to 446, the McCall faction in Tennessee unseated the Shelby county delegation headed by Robert R. (Bob) Church. The lily-whites in the party have been looking forward to this day for a long time. This is the first time that they have succeeded in ousting Mr. Church from the convention.

Our National Scandal

Our National Capitol is rapidly becoming our national scandal. Flagrant discrimination in public places continues unabated. Recently

Mr. F. A. Allen of Detroit


Minister Pickets
THE JOBLESS NEGRO
Owners Tell Minister They Will
Not Employ Negroes As Clerks
Admit 75 Per Cent of Trade Is Derived From Colored Patronage
Negroes, Stay Out
NEGRO CONSUMERS
BEGIN TO TRADE WHERE YOU CAN ALSO FIND WORK
GIVE US A JOB!
OPEN
Bearden

THE PICKET LINE, 1934

a delegation of forty-two substitute postoffice employees went down from New York. A hotel refused to accommodate the colored delegation. The entire delegation withdrew from the hotel at 1:00 a.m. They were quartered finally by a group of federal employees. The Salvation Army refused to help.

"Yow-sur, Yow-sur"

The Reverend Mr. B. Jones, of the Jones Bible School, Montgomery, Alabama, has mastered the art of licking the hand that feeds him. After commending the Montgomery police for closing up several "dives and speakeasies" in the Washington Park district Brother Jones makes a plea for the Old Flag in a letter to the *Montgomery Advertiser*:

"A certain Negro preacher, the other day, pastor of one of the leading churches in the city commenting on the Negro celebrating the Fourth Day of July, said it was a shame.

"On July 4, 1933, the Jones Bible School had 4,000 Negroes at a Pauper's picnic giving honor to our Flag and country, and this preacher said, "That July 4th was the day slavery was inaugurated and the Negroes put in bondage." This theory taught by untrained ministers has caused thousands of Negroes to look upon the American flag with dishonor, and *it tends to breed contempt for the white hands that feeds us in Montgomery in time of famine.* (Italics ours.)

"I am asking the Editor of *The Advertiser* or some other white person whom the masses of the folks will believe in to please correct my people through the press and tell them that July 4th is the day of the Declaration of Independence, the day of the thirteen original colonies received their freedom from Great Britain. Until this stumbling stone is removed our people will continue in a state of ignorance."

I. L. G. W. U.

Two hundred and fifty delegates to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in session in Chicago, moved their conference and their lodging from the Medinah Temple when six Negro delegates and their friends were refused regular elevator service. The six Negro delegates represented New York, Kansas City and Chicago.

EDUCATION

Training School for Relief Workers

The Federal Government has chosen The Atlanta School of Social Work as the place to establish a training school for relief workers. The project will be conducted independently of the regular summer school. The regular faculty of the Atlanta School will conduct the curriculum.

Meharry Alumni

The thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Meharry Alumni Association was held in May. Eighteen states were represented. Dr. J. B. Singleton, of Nashville, Tennessee, was re-elected president.

The Governor Herbert H. Lehman Trophy of the Metropolitan District Oratorical Contest N.A.A.C.P.

Horace Bond to Dillard

Horace Mann Bond, for the past several years a member of the faculty of Fisk University, has been appointed Dean of Dillard University, New Orleans. Professor Bond is a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and the University of Chicago.

Student Strike

Students of Virginia State College went on strike, protesting certain faculty regulations. The police of Petersburg were called out to prevent a demonstration. Twenty-six students were expelled.

Winston-Salem Teachers College

The resignation of Dr. S. G. Atkins, for forty-two years president of Winston-Salem Teachers College, has been announced. Dr. Atkins will be succeeded by his son, Francis L. Atkins. The new president is a graduate of Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, and Columbia.

THE DARK WORLD

Liberia and Self-righteous Britain

The weight of British propaganda is thrown against Liberia. The action taken by the League of Nations in expelling Liberia from the League was reflected weeks earlier in the colonial press. *The African World* of April 28, 1934, carries the following editorial in part:

"When writing on the subject in these columns over a year ago, we predicted the course of events only too accurately—the total failure of the League of Nations' efforts to secure reform, and the futility of expecting any tangible improvement in Liberian conditions so long as the Government of that hapless country remained in the hands of those who have proved their incompetence to govern. As Lord Cecil pointed out, the Liberian Government's suggested reservations to the League plan of assistance practically amount to total rejection of the scheme, and by its deliberately obstructive tactics that Government has shown that it has no real intention of instituting reforms. By thus evading her obligations and breaking her covenants, Liberia has forfeited any claims which she may have previously had to the sympathetic consideration of the Great Powers. The conscience of the civilized world will not permit a continuance of the present appalling state of affairs, under which the Black Republic is a danger both to herself and to the whole of West Africa."

The crux of the whole matter is that Liberia's defiance of the Western European nations is an invitation to revolt on the part of European colonies which lie adjacent to Liberia. Students of American history who recall the hysteria in this country to save Cuba from "Spanish misrule," will read the following pious pronouncements from the same issue of *The African World* with a chuckle:

"In the House of Lords on Wednesday, Lord Meston asked the Government whether they had any information in reference to the position in Liberia, where, he said, the indigenous people were suffering great misery and deliberate injustice. He would like to know how far the British Government were going to throw their great influence in the scale of inducing the Council of the League to take appropriate steps towards the restoration of good government and ordinary humanity in this derelict State.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury said that this question concerned not only the unhappy country of Liberia, but our own responsibility in West Africa. Disease and disorder were spreading from Liberia into Sierra Leone and elsewhere. The question concerned, indeed, the credit of the whole of civilization.

"Viscount Cecil said that in order to carry out the necessary reforms in Liberia anything less than the League plan would have been futile and dangerous. In effect the reservations suggested by Liberia amounted to a total rejection of the plan. Unless at the last minute Liberia altered her attitude the Council would be bound to declare at their next meeting that the plan of assistance had failed. It would be a very grave misfortune not only to Liberia and her subjects, but to the civilized world if it turned out to be impossible to take any action to reform the Government of Liberia and to bring it somewhere near the standards of government which prevailed in other parts of Africa.

"Earl Buxton said that the League had no alternative but to reject the reservations and to insist on the full proposals that had been made. Liberia ought to be struck off the roll of the League. America, who was anxious to co-operate with England, France, and other countries, would be prepared, if it were approved, to take over the protectorate of Liberia."

* * *

West Africa for May 26, 1934, reports the debate on Liberia:

MR. MANDER asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he would consider the advisability of proposing at the Council meeting of the League of Nations that an international naval force should be sent to make a demonstration off the coast of Liberia, with a view to persuading that country to recognize the obligations of humanity by the supression of slavery.

MR. BALDWIN: I can assure the hon. member that his Majesty's Government have carefully examined all aspects of the Liberian problem before instructing their representative at the present meeting of the League Council at Geneva. It will be for the Council to determine what recommendations to make.

MR. MANDER asked if the right hon. gentleman did not think that this gross scandal ought to be brought to an end one way or the other as soon as possible.

MR. BALDWIN said that he quite agreed, but he doubted if the methods proposed would have the slightest prospect of success.

LIEUT.-COMMANDER AGNEW: Would my right hon. friend bear in mind the claims of other countries to have an international force sent on the same ground?

And in America . .

Mr. George Schuyler writes in the *Pittsburg Courier* of June 9, 1934:

"What Liberia needs before she will be ready for Aframerican immigration is about ten or fifteen years of benevolent dictatorship by the United States, and the sooner the Marines get there, the better for all concerned—except the Liberian politicians."

Munition Manufacture in India?

The Madras *Guardian* comments editorially:

"The *Daily Herald* of London is responsible for the news that British and European armament firms have arranged to supply Japan with munitions for the conquest of China and that these munitions are being manufactured in India in the hope of keeping the enterprise secret. A further reason assigned for patronizing India is the cheapness of labor which will make possible extra profits. Japan gets the goods, India gets wages and Britain gets part of the profits. The story might have been easily discredited except that it is possible to believe almost anything about munition firms. They form an international fraternity who are united in unbreakable bonds of steel. However we hope that vigilant members of the Assembly will pursue the inquiry despite the advancement of India in international status that the news forebodes."

Blaise Diagne

Deputy Blaise Diagne, Negro member of the French Parliament from Senegal, and former Cabinet member, died in May. In January, 1931, Premier Laval named M. Diagne, Under-Secretary for the Colonies at the beginning of his Ministry. During the World War, M. Diagne was High Commissioner for the French Government and directed the raising of troops in his country.

The late Blaise Diagne

Anthropological Congress

The International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences will convene in London, July 30-August 4. The section dealing with African Ethnography will be divided as follows: (1) Essentials of indigenous African culture; (2) How far African customs and beliefs can be incorporated in the American systems; (3) African marriage and the effect of contact with Western civilization; (4) Witchcraft and colonial legislation; (5) With the Psychology section, methods of investigating African aptitudes; (6) With Language, validity of European translations from African texts; (7) With Ethnography, Hamitic culture and its distribution; (8) With Religions, the religious aspects of land-tenure.

SOME OF THE OFFICERS AND TEAM CAPTAINS IN THE MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA N.A.A.C.P.

Front row: Mrs. M. F. Thompson, Mrs. Thos. Frazier, Miss H. H. Beason, Miss Susie R. Quander, Mrs. Milton A. Francis, Mrs. Robt. G. McGuire, President; Mrs. Cora W. Wilkinson, Miss Adella Parks, Mrs. Ida Reid, Miss Inez Nicholas, Mrs. Georgia Sheffey Johnson, Miss Mary E. White. Back row standing: Rev. S. A. Young, Mrs. Susie R. Saunders, Mrs. Lillian Swift, Mrs. Bertha Lomack, John R. Pinkett, Mrs. E. G. Murray, Geo. E. Cohron, Director of Drive; John C. Bruce, Chairman of Board; A. S. Pinkett, Secretary; Mrs. Geo. E. Cohron, Mrs. Lydia McIlwain, R. U. Wilkinson, Mrs. Lillian B. Gee, Frank S. Reid, Jr., Mrs. Frank S. Reid, Jr., Miss Louise F. Madella and Miss Georgia Nicholas

With Torch and Tomahawk to Freedom

By G. JAMES FLEMING

"MASSA, we poor Negroes cannot fight with soldiers, as we have no guns, but we can burn and destroy if we do not get our freedom, and that is what we intend to do."

A slave in St. Croix, Virgin Islands of the United States (then the Danish West Indies) was talking on a hectic Monday, July 3, 1848, to an officer of the *gendarmerie*—and it was largely for fear of the torch that the soldiers did not fire on the 3,000 black men and women who had descended on the Fredericksted fort that day clamoring for their freedom and taunting the military with requests to "Shoot us, shoot us!" It was fear of torch and tomahawk that sent the white planters and merchants and their wives and children seeking refuge on the ships in the harbor, and that, before the day was over, was to compel the Governor-General to issue an emancipation proclamation.

Slaves had rebelled before on the Danish islands in the Caribbean, and, as freedmen, they were to resort to the torch and tomahawk in later years, but this particular insurrection ranks first because it resulted in the abolition of slavery and historically admitted the Virgin Islands and its people—if they only remembered—into the society of men and countries that have broken the chains of political or physical bondage in the month of July.

American independence was declared on July 4, 1776; the French populace destroyed the Bastille on July 14, 1789. In Latin America, Venezuela achieved her independence from Spain on July 5, 1811, and Argentina, July 9, 1816. Belgium came into her own from under the dominance of Holland on July 21, 1831, and Peru became independent on July 28, 1921.

THE anti-slavery uprising of 1848 was sudden, and neither the Danish officials nor the masters expected it, although the plans for it were made right under their noses. But the overlords had some right to their complacency: the slave trade was abolished in 1803, and in 1847 King Christian VIII had allowed to be enacted laws which in twelve years would have brought about complete emancipation in all the Danish West Indian islands —St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John. Besides, there was a certain salve for the slaveholders' conscience in knowing that bad as slavery might be, it was least inhumane in the Danish islands. Residents of other slave-holding countries had said so repeatedly, and even Sylvester Hovey, a professor at Amherst College, and a representative of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the

BUDDHOE, OR "GENERAL BORDEAUX"
Courtesy, Arthur Schomburg Collection, New York Public Library

Colored Race, had written back to Boston that slavery "is generally supposed to exist here in mildest forms; and judging from my own observation, I believe that the slaves are exposed to less cruelty, and are better supplied with the necessaries of life, than they are in most slave countries."

But the very milder form of slavery must have whetted the desire of the enslaved for complete freedom! Already they were permitted to purchase their freedom, if they raised the price; they could inherit property; their women were excused from field work three months before, and until two months after, confinement; they could keep pigs and poultry and could sell and barter in the market place once a week. They went to church, or not, at will, and they danced at Christmastime in the "man'ger's house" on the several estates. But they were still slaves.

"Twelve years," the slave leaders must have muttered. "Suppose the king dies, or suppose he changes his mind; suppose. . . . ."

The darker picture was undoubtedly the one which the slaves envisioned. They could not give evidence against white persons, except when they brought complaint in police court, and then their testimony would not be taken under oath; they could be separated from their nearest relatives; they could be confined in the stocks or in solitary imprisonment, and the proprietor or manager had the legal authority to inflict thirty lashes for minor offenses.

Calmly and quietly, for months, the militant slaves and their leaders planned to rebel (and they did not even let the free Negroes on to the secret!), and from estate to estate the word was passed along.

When darkness had fallen on July 2, following a peaceful, churchgoing, tropical Sunday, the slaves on the northside plantations on the island of St. Croix revolted simultaneously. They went to the "big house" with their knives, tomahawks, and torches—and quietly, then loudly, then boisterously, made a stand for freedom. The whites were taken by surprise; their men were outnumbered, their ammunition limited, and they knew that the first shot fired would mean wholesale application of the torches—and a holocaust. So they fled, most of them, and left the slaves behind. They went first to the City of Fredericksted and there the church bells began to ring, giving the signal that the slaves were on the warpath; and messengers were dispatched to the capital, Christiansted, to summon Governor-General Peter von Scholten.

"As these alarms rolled on throughout every part of the island," writes one contemporary of the period, "consternation and terror, tumult and uproar, spread on all sides. Fear in its most bitter forms now seized upon the minds of the inhabitants of Fredericksted and of the estates contiguous, and many rushed immediately aboard the shipping lying in the harbor. . . The night was one of horror especially to those who were unable to escape from their estates. Terror conjectured the worst consequences."

Very little property was destroyed by the slaves at this time, and neither the masters nor their families were harmed. The torches and tomahawks were for emergencies.

The brain of the rebellion was 38 year old Buddhoe, a black, intelligent, well-built slave,—a born leader. He belonged to the estate, "LaGrange," and used this latter name as his surname, but due to his qualities of leader-

ship, he was nicknamed "General Bourdeaux" by his fellow slaves.

When Fredericksted saw the daylight on Monday, July 3, 1848, it found on its hands some three thousand slaves. Besides their usual arms, the men stacked up bricks and conch shells at strategic points, and uncomfortably near to the fort the women piled up dried straw, dried cane leaves, and anything which would start a fire with the least encouragement, and "which at the first shot from the fort it was arranged they should light and throw into the doors and windows." The women were an important factor throughout the uprising; they could not be stopped, they did not falter.

Buddhoe and Martin King, next in command, demanded the freedom of the slaves. A few of the citizens, now inside the fort, wanted the soldiers to reply with hot lead, and even the slaves wanted the soldiers to fire on them and start what was considered an inevitable massacre; but the officers and the majority of the whites were wiser. As their copybooks had taught them, they remembered now that "fire is a good servant but a bad master." They feared the torch.

One Merchant Moore, who allowed it to be known what "I would do with those slaves if I were in command," had his store sacked and his goods dragged into the street and burned. Later to put punch into their demands, the slaves ransacked the police office and the judge's home, and uprooted the whipping post and fed it to the sea.

The officer of the fort, in explaining why he could not declare freedom, had told the rebels that only the Governor-General could issue the demanded proclamation. When the executive did not arrive, the slaves threatened to burn down the town if their freedom was not forthcoming by four o'clock. Sailors from an English ship in the harbor did not help the situation for the officials by decorating the waterfront with inscriptions of "Liberty."

The Governor-General arrived in his carriage before the hour of doom. The slaves massed their forces. They were ready to do or die. A brig-of-war was expected momentarily; the white property owners, always organized in a kind of militia, and the Brand Corps of free Negroes were ready to take the field once they were ordered. But the Governor-General did not call upon the military. Instead, after counselling only with himself, he issued the freedom-giving edict, to the amazement of the officers and citizens.

The proclamation, not couched in diplomatic or political verbiage, but short and simple, read:

"1. All unfree in the Danish West India Islands are from today free.

"2. The estate Negroes retain for three months from date the use of the houses and provision grounds of which they have hitherto been possessed.

"3. Labor is in future to be paid for by agreement, but allowance of food to cease.

"4. The maintenance of the old and infirm, who are not able to work, is until further determined, to be furnished by the late owners.

"The General Government of the Danish West India Islands, St. Croix, the 3rd July, 1848.

"P. V. SCHOLTEN."

After the proclamation was explained to them, the slaves returned to the country, but left behind a disappointed citizenry and a body of officers who thought the Governor-General had failed to protect life and property and had gone beyond his authority in issuing the proclamation, especially at the slaves' behest.

When the slaves reached home, they celebrated in their own way, and at night the skies were lighted with a thousand fires. Some damage was done to slaveholders' furniture, provisions, rum, and sugar, the greatest tyrants suffering most, but, on the whole, the fires were largely harmless bonfires, and no one was hurt nor a child or woman violated. As in the United States, also, numbers of slaves remained loyal and protected their masters' families and property. For several days after the emancipation, skirmishes between masters and former slaves threatened, but nothing serious occurred.

On July 4, the proclamation was read "at the drumhead" in Christiansted, on the plantations, and in the islands of St. Thomas and St. John. In St. Thomas "there were few demonstrations beyond music and dancing in the streets, and the whole affair passed off very quietly."

"IT is believed by some that this insurrection was well known to Governor-General Von Scholten for sometime before it broke out," the Rev. John P. Knox, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, wrote in 1851 in his 'St. Thomas, W. I.,' "and that, if he had chosen to take the necessary precaution, it might have been prevented before its plans were matured, or easily suppressed after it had commenced. Others think that he was ignorant of its existence, with the rest of the inhabitants, and that his singular conduct on the occasion arose partly from fear, and partly from the belief that the event was a fit opportunity to meet the wishes of the home government concerning the emancipation of the slaves."

Von Scholten was accused of conduct "unworthy of his high office," and of jeopardizing "the dearest interests and welfare of those he was bound to protect." Becoming ill, and undoubtedly overwhelmed by the severe criticism, he soon retired and returned to Denmark. There he was tried before a commission for "dereliction of duty" and found guilty and condemned. He appealed to the Supreme Court and was eventually honorably acquitted.

Officers and Committee of the Young Ansar-Ud-Deen Society being presented to Governor Donald Cameron, at Lagos

Although the Governor-General was widely condemned, Dr. Charles E. Taylor, writing several years later in his "Leaflets of the Danish West Indies" noted that "yet we have heard him spoken of in highest terms of admiration by many of those who yet remembered him, and it is the opinion of more than one who was an eye-witness of the events which took place in Fredericksted, that had the Negroes been fired upon before the emancipation was proclaimed, it would have been followed by the total destruction of the town (just as it actually happened in Fredericksted thirty years afterward during the Labor Riots)."

Several slaves were shot down in Christiansted, fifteen miles from the center of the insurrection, on the night of July 3. A score or more of the ringleaders of the rebellion were court-martialed and shot, despite emancipation. Buddhoe—General Bourdeaux—was made a prisoner, but being afraid of the repercussion, the military officials did not take his life. And why should they have executed him? It was his wise leadership which prevented the torch and tomahawk from spreading destruction, bloodshed, and death. At the height of the hostilities, he also went so far as to save the life of a major of the *gendarmerie*.

Buddhoe was exiled from the Danish West Indies and taken aboard a warship to Port of Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, with the promise that he would forfeit his life if he set foot again on his island home. The ship's captain was one of those who wanted to shoot down the rebelling slaves, and so, although Buddhoe was put aboard ship well dressed and was given good quarters—like the ambassador of an enemy country given his passport, but protected—as soon as the ship got to sea, he was humiliated and ordered to the kitchen brigade to peel potatoes. He was last heard from in the United States.

Martin King, his lieutenant, escaped until the military courts had been disbanded, and suffered only imprisonment. Some years later he was found making his living as a rat catcher.

ONE hundred and fifteen years before the 1848 rebellion, when the slaves on St. John rose up for their freedom and controlled the island for weeks, both soldiers and slaveholders and their families were killed with cutlasses and guns, the latter taken away from the soldiers. When, after reinforcements were sent from neighboring islands, the rebelling slaves were cornered, 300 of them cast themselves over a deep precipice to their death rather than be taken alive, and another score entered into a death pact and shot each other, the last of the number committing suicide, or really, a type of hari-kari.

In the abortive rebellion in St. Croix in 1759, after torture and trial fourteen slaves were killed—by hanging head down, by burning at the stake, by breaking over the wheel; ten were sold out of the island—exiled; and rewards were offered for the apprehension of five. Fifty-nine were acquitted.

This was the kind of inspiration that the insurrectionists of 1848 had to look to. Buddhoe and his followers went one step further by winning freedom with the minimum of slaughter and without a single murder charged to the slaves.

Less is written about Buddhoe than he merits, and no monument honors his memory in the Virgin Islands. Nevertheless, he is worthy of a place beside Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henri Christophe, Bolivar, and the other liberators of their own people. It can be said of him, that while he led no large armies, he bided his time and struck out when every maneuver would count, in the accomplishment of the purpose in mind—freedom for the 42,290 slaves of the Danish West Indies.

California Campaigns for the N. A. A. C. P.

By DAISY LAMPKIN

CALIFORNIA is N.A.A.C.P. conscious as an eight-weeks visit to the State has proven. The purpose of the visit was to conduct intensive membership campaigns in cities, and to hold meetings in the smaller towns. The first campaign conducted was in Los Angeles, where I spent the first seven days setting up an organization consisting of teams with captains and workers, with headquarters in the Twenty-eighth street Branch Y.M.C.A., a modern and beautifully equipped building.

Ten days were spent in the actual campaign, resulting in a $1,121.00 in memberships. The teams bringing in the largest number of memberships by the time set for the final reports were headed by Dr. H. Claude Hudson, President of the local branch, and Mrs. Bettye Hill, outstanding civic worker. Other teams reaching the goal, or nearing it at subsequent meetings were headed by L. G. Robinson, Mrs. Paul R. Williams, Mrs. J. J. Christian, representing the Women's Auxiliary, George A. Beavers, leader of the Golden State Life Insurance Team, and Mrs. Ursula Adams, heading the A. K. A. team. In spite of the fact that Dr. J. A. Somerville had successfully conducted a campaign for 500 members just 5 months prior, this splendid result was obtained in just 10 days.

The Los Angeles Branch is active with local problems of racial discrimination and attempts at segregation, and has many victories to its credit. Among its many activities of the present is one to prevent segregation of the colored nurses in the city hospital.

Concurrent with the Los Angeles effort were campaigns in Pasadena and Santa Monica Bay, both of which resulted satisfactorily. In Pasadena under the leadership of Mrs. J. T. Long, as chairman, Mrs. Rhoda Harris, as director of the Women's Division, and Herman Smith, heading the Men's Division, 400 members were enrolled in 7 days. The Women's Division led in the competition between the women and men, resulting in 250 members for the women and 150 for the men. The rivalry was friendly and pleasant with enthusiasm high. At the closing meeting at Friendship Baptist Church George Garner, the internationally known tenor, and his talented wife, Paullyn Garner, presented a community chorus of 150 young people as a special feature. The Pasadena Branch under the leadership of Rev. J. C. McCorkle and Dr. J. H. McRiley, president and secretary, has launched a program to break down segregation at a municipal swimming pool, where at present, colored and white children are given separate days.

Santa Monica Bay with a Negro population of 700 made the best average of all the California campaigns in enrolling more than 200, or 29 per cent of the entire Negro population. J. Allen Reese, the President of the Santa Monica Bay Branch, is one of its most prominent citizens, highly respected for his courage and leadership. Mrs. Anna S. Munger, secretary, who boasts of being 70 years young, headed the campaign with energy and vigor that contributed much to its splendid success. It was a pleasure to find the Rev. W. Augustus Jones, formerly of Pittsburgh, pastoring the Calvary Baptist Church, and happy in planting 1400 sweet potato-plants in his "garden by the sea." Between each row he rested his back by gazing across the great spans of the

Pacific and dreaming dreams of baked 'yams' in the months to come. How I envied him his Spanish villa by the sea, *"Blanco Casa"!*

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A delightful trip of 5 hours along the Pacific shore carried me to San Diego where 3 days were spent with the members of one of the most faithful of the N.A.A.C.P. Branches. A campaign organization was set up with a goal of 300 members, directed by Mrs. Joseph Childress and Mr. D. W. Anderson. The San Diego Branch has been active for a number of years against racial discrimination in this naval port, and has won the respect of the community in this effort.

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Monrovia, where only a few colored people live, held a well-attended meeting which resulted in the appointment of a committee looking toward the organization of a branch of the N.A.A.C.P. The citizens of this little community were successful in having signs removed from the windows of a restaurant that catered to "white only," and this in a town where Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, and other colored races form a large part of the population. The management, when approached by Mexicans, would say that the sign was intended for Negroes. When Negroes protested they were told it was meant for Mexicans.

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San Francisco and Oakland pride themselves in keeping Northern California civilized on the racial question. With lawyers as presidents of the two Branches it is not difficult to have the citizens reminded that California has a Civil Rights Law. During my visit in San Francisco, a suit was prosecuted and won by Attorney Leland Hawkins, president of the San Francisco Branch, giving a judgment of $250 to a colored woman who was denied service in a restaurant conducted by an Italian. An amusing feature of this case was that the Italian tried to pose as a Negro (merely temporarily!) but the lawyer for the plaintiff quickly exploded that attempted change of racial identity.

San Francisco secured 300 new members in 10 days. The team headed by Rev. Fred Hughes, pastor of Bethel A. M. E. Church, led in the number of memberships secured. Other winning teams were headed by Mrs. Emma Doak, Mrs. Laura Davis, and Mr. Wesley Johnson.

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The Alameda County Branch, consisting of Oakland, Berkeley, and surrounding towns of, which Attorney Walter A. Gordon, is president, was successful in enrolling 500 members in 10 days. George Johnson, general chairman of the campaign, had the cooperation of the citizens generally. At the closing of this effort, at a garden party on the beautiful lawn of Miss Ida M. Jackson, the only colored woman teacher in the public schools of Oakland, more than 400 people gathered to hear the final returns. The 4 highest teams were headed by Mrs. Chlora Sledge, Mrs. J. M. Stubblefield, R. Lee Williams and Mrs. Katrina Jackson. The Federated Club women of Oakland played a large part in the success of this campaign, as was true throughout the whole State. Club work among the women of California is highly developed with splendid projects successfully conducted under their direction. Especially noticeable are the Sojourner Truth Home and the East Side Shelter Home for Women and Girls in Los Angeles, The Madame C. J. Walker Home in San Francisco, and the Home for Children and the Day Nursery in Oakland.

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San Mateo has a splendidly active small branch under the leadership of S. L. Staten, who is responsible also for the Northern California Council of Branches. At a meeting held in the A. M. E. Zion Church every available seat was taken and many new members secured.

Valle Jo has fought long, hard and successfully against a segregated school, which is now closed. The Branch faces a suit for $25,000 because of its determination to prevent segregation and its contingent evils in Valle Jo. The Branch has spent more than $5,000 on this case, some of which was contributed by other California Branches and the National Office of the N.A.A.C.P. The greater amount, however, was raised by the few determined members of the Branch.

Throughout California the churches, fraternal and civic organizations, women's clubs, sororities and fraternities, insurance companies, and social organizations are lending support willingly and gladly in the effort of the N.A.A.C.P. to keep California liberal for all Americans.

WINNING TEAMS IN LOS ANGELES N.A.A.C.P. DRIVE

The team captains, Mrs. Betty Hill and Dr. H. C. Hudson are in the center of the picture. The Crisis *regrets not knowing all the other people in the picture. Mrs. Daisy Lampkin directed the drive*

Pennsylvania Politics as of the Year 1934

By E. WASHINGTON RHODES

Mr. E. Washington Rhodes takes the view that the Negro in Philadelphia will profit by the existence of two contending parties. Himself a Republican, he argues for the splitting of the Negro vote.

In the article that follows, Dr. Aaron Toodle gives his analysis of the political situation in Detroit as regards Negoes. Dr. Toodle questions the wisdom of the great exodus to the Democrats, and seems to advocate a return to the Republican fold.

Both men take the frankly opportunistic view of politics and talk loyalties in terms of patronage. "No jobs, no votes." Both these writers are in a position to know what they are talking about. Both are practical politicians.

IT is interesting to watch the changing political situation in Pennsylvania since President Roosevelt rode into Washington with his brand New Deal in 1932. Even the greatest Republican State in the Union has fallen under the spell of Roosevelt For the first time in more than an half century Pennsylvania is threatened with a Democratic victory.

When the voters of the Keystone State march to the polls in November to elect a United States Senator, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of Internal Affairs and minor state, county and city officials the betting will be even money that the Democratic nominees will win. That is strange talk coming out of Philadelphia. But the facts justify the prediction that unless Roosevelt runs into a snag before November, those who hang on to his coat tail will ride into office.

The colored brothers who dwell in Chicago and New York have obtained more political plums than those who live in Philadelphia. This condition is not due to any superiority of the colored people who cast their votes in the two first named cities, but because a two party government exists in each, while in Philadelphia prior to 1932, the Grand Old Party controlled even the pseudo-Democratic organization.

Permit me to interject right here, this is not intended to be a scientific analysis of the political situation in Pennsylvania. It is written simply to give a cursory glance at the current trend of politics in Pennsylvania with my opinion of the positive benefits which will accrue to the colored citizens as a result of two live and fighting political parties in the State.

There is one other element which the reader must consider in reaching conclusions concerning the Philadelphia Negro in politics, namely, there is no concentration of Negro population in any one area as in Harlem, New York, or Chicago's Southside. Philadelphia's colored voters are scattered all over the city which makes it difficult for them to elect one of their number to office.

Colored people have made vast strides in politics within recent months. (My opinion is predicated on events which have occurred in Pennsylvania within the last two years. Little consideration had been given to the Negro in politics under the Republican political regime in Pennsylvania prior to 1932.)

Political leaders who live in Chicago and in New York are accustomed to say that the Philadelphia Negro did not get anywhere in politics because of his inactivity, lethargy, lack of courage and because he slavishly followed the Republican Party. To prove that this is not true, the registration figures show that thousands of Negroes have registered as Democrats since a real Democratic organization has been formed in Philadelphia.

In the election of 1933, the 30th ward which is 85 per cent Negro was found in the Democratic column. The same thing was true in the 34th ward. This shows conclusively that the failure of the Negroes to register Democratic or to identify themselves with the Democratic party was not due to any exceedingly great love for the Republican party, but because there was no other party with the possibility of winning or achieving a victory.

At the first available opportunity, the Negroes joined the Democratic party in large numbers. The recent primary election which was held May 15, 1934 is a very good barometer of what colored citizens can expect from a two-party government of Pennsylvania.

Heretofore, in the North Philadelphia area which makes up the 21st legislative district, Negroes could never hope to have a colored man nominated for the state legislature from that District. But with the strong inroads which the Democratic party was making on the Negro voters, the Republican organization for the first time in its history indorsed Hobson R. Reynolds, a colored candidate, for the state legislature, and the wards controlled by white Republican leaders not only indorsed, but nominated Mr. Reynolds.

The Democratic party in an effort to offset this Republican effort indorsed and nominated Rev. Marshall L. Shepard as the Democratic nominee for the 18th legislative district.

During the recent campaign, the Register of Wills, a Democrat, appointed three Negroes as Clerks at $2,000.00 each in an effort to maintain the good will of the colored people.

In the 30th Ward the Democrats nominated a Negro to run against the Negro nominated by the Republican party. In Pittsburgh a Negro was nominated by both parties. He is president of the Pittsburgh Branch of the N.A.A.C.P., Attorney Homer S. Brown.

Heretofore, there have been only two members of the state legislature but more than likely there will be at least five members of the legislative body next session, due to the growth of the Democratic party here.

For the first time, the congressman from the second congressional district had to make a conscientious effort by appealing directly to the colored voter to be renominated.

Heretofore, it was a foregone conclusion that he would be nominated. There is a movement on foot in Philadelphia now which will undoubtedly see a Negro elected to city council from the second councilmanic district at our next election in November, 1935.

The leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties are beginning to realize that in order to hold Negro votes they must do more than make empty promises. The Democrats last year placed Magistrate Edward W. Henry on their committee which had to do with the distribution of patronage. For the first time in the history of Philadelphia, three colored women now occupy positions as stenographers and clerks in a public office under the Federal government. They work in the Home Loan Bureau.

The leader of the Democratic party stated that 10 per cent of all patronage will go to Negro voters.

Of course, this promise has not yet been fulfilled in its entirety but it indicates that political leaders understand that colored voters are determined to take advantage of their first opportunity to demand recognition for their votes.

The Negro In Michigan Politics

By AARON C. TOODLE

WITH the approach of the fall election in Michigan, leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties are beginning to check up on the political complexion of the Negro vote in Michigan.

In Detroit alone, there is a Negro population of approximately one hundred and ten thousand, with an estimated voting strength of not less than sixty thousand. Sixty thousand votes when combined are not only powerful, but may prove to be a deciding factor in the defeat or election of candidates.

The political situation in Michigan is such as to focus not only local, but national thought upon it. It was under the spreading oaks of Jackson, Michigan, where the Republican party was born.

In the change of parties in Michigan during the landslide of 1932, the Negro took a very active part. In large numbers he went along with the great tide of votes that swept the Democratic administration into power.

Looking back upon the great political revolution of 1932 we see the issues clearly "A New Deal of Prosperity to All" and the "Repeal of Prohibition." The vexing issue of Prohibition has now been removed from politics. It cannot be said that the Democratic party is alone responsible for this sensible action, because men of every political faith played a part in bringing this about. The New Deal has had the advantage of a hearty welcome as a hope for recovery. People of all parties had undergone so much misery that they were willing to forget everything, even political parties. So the New Deal had a wonderful opportunity as well as a great challenge. Men of all parties are rapidly seeing that the government of tomorrow must recruit all of its capable men. The measures invoked by the New Deal are of such a nature that the playing of politics with them will spell their ineffectiveness.

Out of bitter experiences of the past the Negro is forced to be one of the closest observers of the New Deal. The result of such observation has been a great deal of activity on the part of Negroes in Michigan politics especially in Detroit, where we have several active political organizations at work. The Wolverine Republican Club, The Allied Political Clubs, The First Congressional District Organization, The Michigan Democratic League and the People's Assembly, taking the lead.

The Negroes of Michigan in common with citizens of all races represent all shades of political complexion. Some lean toward Communism and Socialism. There are likewise a relatively large number of Negro Democrats, especially in Wayne County; but as the days glide by and promised jobs cannot be found, these recruits are being disillusioned by the flickering promises of the New Deal.

Negroes in Michigan are rapidly discovering that in the distribution of political patronage and in the administration of government codes affecting the industrial masses of our people, the Negro is still the forgotten man. In the light of all that has happened I wonder if the temporary desertion of the Republican party by Negro voters is the way out?

It is generally conceded that Negro Republicans of Michigan outnumber the combined forces of all Negroes affiliated with other parties, a fact which undoubtedly will be established in the elections in September and November.

Signs of disintegration of the Democratic party of Michigan are appearing in the sky, with unmistakable evidence of internal factionalism and strife. Governor Comstock's political popularity and influence now have a question mark behind them. The failure of the legislature to push through vital relief measures during the last session, the resignation of Mr. Abbott, and other rumors pile up difficulties to be encountered by the Democratic party of Michigan.

Another knot in the already entangled mesh of the Democratic camp is the announcement of Judge Arthur Lacy outstanding Democrat of Michigan, that he will oppose Governor Comstock in the race for Governor. Governor Comstock has the advantage of riding in the saddle and if he can hold the reins tight enough will probably compel the Democratic donkey to ride him under the wire ahead of Judge Lacy.

So much for the two major parties in Michigan, neither of which has justly recognized the Negro or given him a square deal. As never before the Negro in Michigan more fully realizes that what he gets out of either party depends upon himself. That truly in politics he is the architect of his fortune or misfortune. He is therefore, rededicating himself to a new civic program with much activity, hoping to take his place under the political sun.

Immediately following the influx of Negroes from the South several significant changes of government affecting the Negro took place. One of the most far reaching in its effect was the adoption of a new city charter for Detroit in 1918. The new charter provided that all elective offices of the city should be non-partisan. This eliminates all party responsibility, leaving individuals to forever pass the buck.

The new charter also provided for the election of councilmen at large and reduced the number from 42 to 9. Prior to this time each ward elected two councilmen who were directly responsible to the voters of their ward. The ward system kept the councilmen in direct contact with their supporters and much needed service was rendered. Now, all nine members of the city council may be elected out of one silk stocking block which makes it impossible for a Negro to be elected a member of the city council.

If the motive behind the new charter was to keep Negroes out of places of influence, the sponsors have succeeded in a big way. The effect of the new city charter upon the race in Detroit may be clearly seen from statistics compiled by Snow F. Grigsby, chairman of the Detroit Civic Rights Committee. For example, in the Fire Department there is not a single Negro employed, yet the annual payroll for this department in 1933 totaled $3,513,473.97!

Herman Kiefer City Hospital has a force of seven hundred and twenty-seven employees and only one colored on part time. The total payroll for this city hospital for 1933 was $609,831.06. The Detroit Library Commission employs 551 persons, three being Negroes and one of these on part time. The total annual payroll for the library in 1933 was $657,823.00. The Detroit Board of Education has ten thousand one hundred and eighty-three employees, seven thousand three hundred and twenty-three of whom are teachers with only fifty colored among them. The total payroll for all teachers was $14,105,352.00. Negro teachers received only $92,000 of this amount. There are three thousand seven hundred and thirty-four policemen on the Detroit force, of this number, thirty-five are colored, which represents less than one per cent. Fair play in the allotment of police jobs would give Negroes no less than two hundred and sixty-one men on the force. The total salary for the police department during 1933 was $8,612,860.60 of this amount Negroes received approximately $82,799.50.

In 1900 there were fifteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-one Negroes in Michigan, at this time there was no changing of charters. Neither were there any laws passed to classify all voters according to race. Such changes closely followed the influx of Negroes from the South. When the presence of a group stimulates this kind of action, it is absolute proof that the group has great potential strength.

The slum clearance program in Detroit aims to benefit Negroes by providing better and cheaper homes. A laudable undertaking indeed. Judgment on the project must be held in abeyance until it has been completed. So far, it has caused one definite change. The heart of the Negro district where the race raised its highest hope for elected representation has almost been cleaned out and those who lived in this district have been forced to move in other sections. This does not reduce our voting strength in the city, but it does reduce our voting strength in the district from which we hope to elect a Negro Congressman and a Negro State Senator. This same district a little over two years ago elected Attorney Charles Roxborough to the State Senate and nominated Attorney Charles Mahoney on the Republican ticket for U. S. Congressman.

Whatever the cause, every Negro moving out of the First Congressional District or Third Senatorial District decreases the chance for race representation.

Probably the most staggering blow to Negroes in politics came as a result of congressional reapportionment. When the job of reapportionment was completed, we found that the First Congressional District where Negroes had their best opportunity had been laid out in such a way as to leave nearly one-half of the Negro population out of it.

The district is made up of the fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, fifteenth wards and the entire city of Hamtramck. Of these wards only two may be considered Negro wards with some Negroes in the ninth and a few in some parts of the eleventh and thirteenth. Hamtramck has a Polish population of more than twelve thousand voters. The first and third wards containing almost a third of the Negro population on the east side, were left out of the district which piles up tremendous odds against the election of a Negro.

These are not the only difficulties in the pathway of our political advancement, many draw-backs here are to be found within the group. We often ask ourselves why do the colored citizens of Detroit receive such a small measure of political consideration? The answer to this question to a great extent is to be found in our house which is divided against itself. The panacea is a united front in spite of party affiliations, on racial issues. The Negro vote in Detroit has failed to elect members of the race to public office and obtain greater political recognition because the ballots have been divided.

Cleveland, Chicago and other cities have accomplished more than Detroit because of the existence of the ward system.

In spite of these serious handicaps, however, the Negro in Detroit has caught a new spirit and out of the mistakes and defeats of the past he is determined to gain success in the future.

Already colored candidates are circulating petitions for the offices of U. S. Congressman, State Senator, State Representatives, Coroner, and County Road Commissioner. The race in Detroit will make the fight of its life to elect these colored candidates.

We have finally decided that THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR OWN is the sure way out. At first glance the N. R. A. appeared to be full of blessings for Negroes, today Negroes in Michigan are severely disappointed in its failures as far as the race is concerned. We have lost many of the few positions we had that were changed to higher wages. So far as the N. R. A. is concerned there is no difference between the situation North and South with the Negro. In both sections the Negro has lost. Any political lineup in defense of the N.R.A. should receive little encouragement from Negroes.

The Outer Pocket

Central High School Cleveland

In the June Crisis, *there appeared an article which made mention of Central High School, Cleveland, Ohio. The following letters have come to* The Crisis *relative to this matter, one of them from the Parent-Teacher Association of Central High School, and the other, a copy of a letter sent Mr. Wixom by the Department of Education, Columbus. The statement about the classification of Central High was obviously an error. The letter from the Parent-Teacher Association bears out the statements made about economic conditions surrounding the school.*

George Streator.

STATE OF OHIO
Department of Education
Columbus

May 14, 1934.

Mr. Elbert C. Wixom
Principal, Central H. S.
Cleveland, Ohio
Dear Mr. Wixom:

At the annual meeting of the North Central Association, held in Chicago, April 18–21, of Ohio's 311 North Central schools 230 were Unqualifiedly Recommended, 57 were Warned and 15 were Advised. I am happy to inform you that Central High School is among those Unqualifiedly Recommended.

The Reviewing Committee, however, called our attention to the fact that the pupil-teacher ratio is 30.7 instead of 30. No Warning was given this year on this Standard.

The certificate of membership will be forwarded to you as soon as we receive it from Mr. Clevenger, Secretary of the Association.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Joseph W. Fichter,
Chairman State Committee.

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1. Central High is an accredited academic high school. The course of study, the length of the school term, as well as the preparation and experience of each member of the faculty meet the requirements of the North Central authorities. We are sending you a statement from the North Central authorities for you to print in your next issue of the Crisis.

2. Most of the students of Central High school come from the homes of the underprivileged class. Their I. Q.'s or intelligence quotients range from 70 to 144. This is similar in range to all other high schools of today, because more children are attending high school now than formerly. Heretofore, those of lower mentality quit school to go to work.

3. The course of study in the high schools of today has to be more varied than that of yesterday in order to give the high I. Q. and the low I. Q. an equal chance to prepare for their life work.

4. The students of Central High School are often handicapped by poor home environment and therefore they do not work to capacity. The Parent-Teacher Association has tried to reach all the parents and teach them to urge their children to improve the living conditions of the next generation by making use of every opportunity that Central offers.

5. The Central High Parent-Teacher Association feels that something should be done to provide jobs for the parents and thus enable them to regain their self-respect which this continual living on charity has destroyed. Then, their children will feel that an education is essential. The chairman of our Investigating Committee of our P.T.A. has reported that vice flourishes in this neighborhood because the majority of the people are idle.

The Central High Parent-Teacher Association feels that some of the more privileged Negroes should devote more time and money to developing businesses in the neighborhood of Central High that the Negro youth may be encouraged to exercise thrift and industry.

Mrs. Rozelle E. Boyd, *President.*
Mrs. Mabel Jackson, *Secretary.*
Myrtle L. Johnson, *Faculty Adviser.*
Helen E. Robinson, *Chairman of Investigating Committee.*

"Dismal, Uninviting"

A committee of Cleveland citizens headed by Jane E. Hunter and Norman McGhee, made several recommendations to the Board of Education, among them the following:

"The building housing Central High School was erected in 1878, with an addition in 1892, a further addition in 1894 of an auditorium and a gymnasium, and of a manual training unit in 1918. The building is equipped to accommodate approximately 2,000 pupils, the present enrollment is 2,172, and for the past four years the enrollment has exceeded the class room capacity. *In comparison with the other high schools in the city, it has a dismal, uninviting, cheerless appearance, void of the atmosphere that makes for the education of youth.*" (Italics ours.)

"The location of this school was formerly in the heart of an aristocratic neighborhood, with beautiful lawns, fine shade trees, and imposing dwellings. It is now the center for third rate rooming houses, small manufacturers, and small businesses. East 55th Street has become one of the main arteries of automobile traffic in the city. *The neighborhood is infested with houses of questionable repute, auto junk yards, prostitutes and gangsters. These conditions make its location one of moral and physical hazards, wholly unsuited for and demoralizing to the students.* (Italics ours.) The location in such surroundings increases the problems of discipline and effective instruction. No other high school in the city is so unfavorably located for its purposes."

"While the requirements for graduation from Central High School meet those of the North Central Association of High Schools and Colleges, *there appears to be too much leeway in the matter of electives.* A student may elect 18 of the 32 points required for graduation and still not have sufficient units for admission to colleges of Class A standing. *There is a feeling in the community that of recent years it has become increasingly difficult for graduates of Central High School to enter Class A colleges without conditions, because of unwise choice of electives.*" (Italics ours.)

Inter-racial contacts

During and following the series of lectures sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy, a group of University of Tennessee and Knoxville College students and faculty members met jointly in a number of meetings. Mr. W. L. Porter, editor of the *East Tennessee News*, a Negro weekly, seemed to be very much against the meetings, giving them unfavorable publicity in his weekly paper. Later, Mr. Porter had another chance to give the group unfavorable publicity when the "Loafer" edition of the *Orange and White* (University of Tennessee weekly newspaper) was printed. This "Loafer" edition, as everyone in the University knows, is the edition in which nothing published is of serious nature. In this edition of April 27th, I was quoted to the effect that the inter-racial meetings had been discontinued during the summer months because of the odor of the Negroes. Practically everyone on the campus took the article as a joke as well as the other crazy articles such as: "Nudist Colony Formed at University," "Student Wins in Race for Governorship," etc. But, Mr. Porter did not take the paper as it was intended. Disregarding the absurd article as well as the editorial which stated that everything in the paper was fictitious, Mr. Porter printed the article about the inter-racial meetings being discontinued as though I had really said the things as quoted. He not only printed the article in his own paper but apparently saw that it was given to other papers as well. Corrections have been sent to those papers in which the article was erroneously quoted. We are taking this opportunity to inform those who have not seen the corrections.

Incidently, the Saturday following the appearance of the article in the *East Tennessee News*, we had our last inter-racial meeting of the school term on the University of Tennessee campus.

HOWARD FRAZIER
President of International Forum
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Differs with Burris on "Jonah's Gourd Vine"

May I express my dissent from the judgment of Andrew Burris on *Jonah's Gourd Vine*, as printed in the June number of CRISIS? His own last paragraph seems to me to justify the book and explain its success, thus outweighing his earlier words of dispraise and disappointment.

For this one reader it is a pleasure to record that from the first to the last word the book held me interested and absorbed. That the background should be so implicit, never obtruding itself yet never failing to reveal the sorrowful poverty and backwardness of those conditions in the Black Belt which produced John Buddy, is one strong point in its favor. But over and above that, Miss Hurston has achieved a kind of power for which any reader may well be grateful; to have made her chief character so true, so vital and so convincing as he slips from one level to another in his unintrospective course—or career, if the word may be stretched to fit this case—and to have retained her reader's understanding and sympathy for her protagonist even though his *acts* distress or revolt, places the book on a high plane—all the more, perhaps, that it is in so small a compass. In this short tale the reader enjoys the "sinner" while mourning his weakness and the effects of his unintended cruelties. Surely any book which so brings its chief character to our affections is a boon.

Then, too, think of its continuous ripples or undertow of humor! I may add that those friends to whom I have recommended Miss Hurston's work have been as much impressed by it as I.

EMILY E. F. SKEEL

The Browsing Reader

***Salah and his American*, by Leland Hall. Alfred Knopf, New York, 1934. . . . $2.00.**

This book, which has been highly praised by the reviewers, is to me curiously flat and disappointing. It tells, with a candor which is probably its chief merit, the adventures of the author, an American traveller in Morocco, with a young Negro boy, a runaway slave, who became his servant. Salah, the boy, a simple, guileless and very engaging character, always retained to some extent the outlook and training of a slave. Yet he was not without pride and he stands out as a dignified as well as pathetic figure against the chaotic background of still largely feudal, partly barbaric country, receiving the blessings of commercial civilization from an alien white power. What Salah could not understand was being a servant for a month instead of for life. He became attached to his new master, wished to follow him to America and was hurt and bewildered when Mr. Hall proceeded firmly to get rid of him. This slight narrative—adequate material for a short story or sketch—has for some reason been expanded into a full-length novel. It carries also some not very profound reflections by the author on the relative merits of slavery and freedom.

"It seems almost natural for us to cry out in horror at slavery. Yet for Salah slavery would mean relative security, comfort and perhaps affection. These advantages, it may no longer be believed Freedom assures us . . . Our system is merciless, especially to that gentle honesty that was Salah's. . . .

"What shall we hope for him? What might we hope for one who, like him was better than most of us, Children of Adam, one who was rarely fine and true? My affection knows not even what to pray for in this headlong world, for it is vain to hope that Freedom which we so much praise may cherish the goodness in him that slavery had let grow."

But, as the narrative clearly shows—if it shows anything—the choice is not between slavery and freedom, but only—under any existing civilization—between relative degrees of enslavement and exploitation. To gravely raise the question whether Salah was better off as the petted, well-fed and well-clothed slave of a minor Seid, or as the casual wage-slave of tourists and expatriate adventurers is merely to beg the question of freedom and slavery. The slave has no choice, unless, like Salah, he is adventurous and lucky in running away. The wage slave's choice is between exploitation and starvation, which is also no choice. It is this failure to meet the real situation at the heart of the question that makes Mr. Hall's book so irritatingly disappointing.

M. G.

***Negro-White Adjustment*, by Paul E. Baker. The Association Press, New York, 1934. . . . $3.00.**

Mr. Baker was born in Texas. He has had varied experiences along the color line. He was chaplain at Fisk during the reactionary administration of Fayette Avery McKenzie, and exhibited more than ordinary courage in slowly evolving for himself a position on the side of the students in the turmoil of ten years ago. Later he returned to New York for study, and at the present time is pastor of a liberal church in Yonkers, N. Y. Paul Baker can not be accused of "inter-racial opportunism," as is often the case with people who have a thesis to gather. He set about his task of compiling informative data with sincerity. If he errs, it is on the side of uncritical analysis, for example, of the part played in the struggle along the color line by various American organizations. He accepts rather naively "aims" as expressed by executive officers rather than attempt on his own part a criticism built on a thorough knowledge of the history of social processes. There is always a likelihood of disparity between the expressed position taken by an organization in its constitution and by-laws, and what happens when the organization bucks up against the economic and social currents that shape our destinies. Nevertheless Mr. Baker has compiled an interesting collection of concrete instances that ought to serve a good purpose. I am especially

glad that he has written up the splendid work done by inter-racial student groups in which he has had a part. Much of the cant and hypocrisy of "inter-racial contact groups" might well be eliminated if the leaders were willing to stop indulging themselves in the silly beliefs that their own little experiment is the only one of its kind ever attempted.

On the subject of Communism, or rather, the tactics of the Stalin Communists in America, Mr. Baker treads very lightly, accumulating his "evidence" from letters, newspaper clippings, and the hysteria of liberals confronted with a loss of face with the masses. It is entirely too important a question—this business of the Negro and economic radicalism—to be dismissed with generalizations. There is some excellent material in these letters and public expressions, but the author owes it to the reader to establish a norm of interpretation. Quite obviously, academic objectivity in amassing letters, clippings, and speeches from the officials of such widely varying groups as the Y. M. C. A., the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, the Federal Council of Churches, the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Communist Party in America, leaves much to be desired.

The literature of inter-racial contacts is growing by leaps and bounds. There is a crying need for extended critical analysis of the many organizations active in this work. Mr. Baker's book helps some, but a great deal remains to be done.

G. W. S.

***Rebel Destiny*, by Melville J. and Frances Herskovits. Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1934. . . . $3.00.**

Melville and Frances Herskovits have taken another excursion into Negro life. While this book is not a detailed treatment of what this critical pair found in the Bush of British Guiana, it is written with such charm and simplicity that even Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant might learn something from its pages.

Rebel Destiny, however, will hardly reform the stupidity of white American reviewers who write of Negro subjects. Always they seemingly must gush or prattle. On the gush side, much has been written and will be written about the "surprising intelligence" of these Bush folk. On the prattle side, one will read, even in the publisher's blurb, that "You see these Bush Negroes not as museum specimens but as human beings."

The two Herskovits have built a strong case for the continuity of African culture. They have shown interestingly, and apparently with finality, that the African did not come to America without a culture. The persistence of certain words and phrases, and sometimes traces of African syntax in the American language are evidences of the lasting qualities of his speech. In the Guiana Bush, they discovered villages built like the villages in Africa. They found gods that were the gods of the ancients in Africa. And they have found another branch of the human family, as witnessed by this bit of conversation:

"Do the women talk in the big Krutu (council)?" we asked Bassia (the second in command to the chief) Anaisi, of the Granman's village.

"No, not in krutu. But they talk plenty at home."

G. W. S.

***The Ways of White Folks*, stories by Langston Hughes. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1934. . . . $2.50**

Langston Hughes is laughing at white people in this book. He laughs at white people on all rounds of the social ladder. He laughs with subtlety and tragic mockery in "Father and Son," when he lets Colonel Norwood abuse his black concubine and their mulatto children. He laughs at the selfish and brutal small-town crackers who lynch Norwood's sons, and declare that he died without heirs. In "Slave on the Block" Hughes laughs at two white people of uncertain talents who set out to paint and rhyme about Negroes. He lambasts this pair who "owned all the Robeson records and all the Bessie Smith. And they had a manuscript of Countee Cullen's. They saw all the plays with or about Negroes, read all the books and adored the Hall Johnson Singers. They had met Doctor DuBois, and longed to meet Carl Van Vechten. Of course they knew Harlem like their own backyard, that is, all the speakeasies and night clubs and dance halls, from the Cotton Club and the ritzy joints where Negroes couldn't go themselves, down to the places like the Hot Dime, where white folks couldn't get in—unless they knew the man. (And tipped heavily)." He pauses, it seems, to laugh at a mulatto who has just met his mother on the street without being able to speak to her. He was "passing."

Most of these stories have appeared in the magazines. Not all of them are up to the Hughes' standard, and none of them is "revolutionary" in the sense that Hughes is now being played up as a *revolutionary* artist. There is no class struggle in these stories, only the struggle between black and white, with deft touches here and there to emphasize the strong undercurrent that Langston Hughes knows his white folk, and knows how to laugh at their foibles along the color line.

G. W. S.

"A Nigger Did It"

About a Play Called *Stevedore*

By GEORGE STREATOR

"A NIGGER did it."

What Negro? Any *convenient* Negro. . . . Boy, have you an alibi? . . . Where were you at half past ten? What's your name? So we got you at last, huh? Oh, you're a smart damned black, aren't you? . . . Say, Cap, here's the nigger we want! . . . Boys, go out and pick up a nigger with gold teeth, black and about six feet tall! Not enough description? Did I tell you to pick up a white man? Bring in some niggers!

●

A black man sat beside a dark foreigner on a trolley car in a Southern city. "Hey, nigger, don't you know a white man when you see one? Get up from there, you black polecat!"

The conductor of the packed and jammed trolley was keeping the white race pure. But the Negro was "stubborn." He objected to the mauling, and swung back. A white woman screamed.

"Somebody's got my pocketbook."

The conductor, taken back by the resistance on the part of the presumably docile black, loosened his hold. The Negro jumped off the car and ran.

"Catch that nigger."

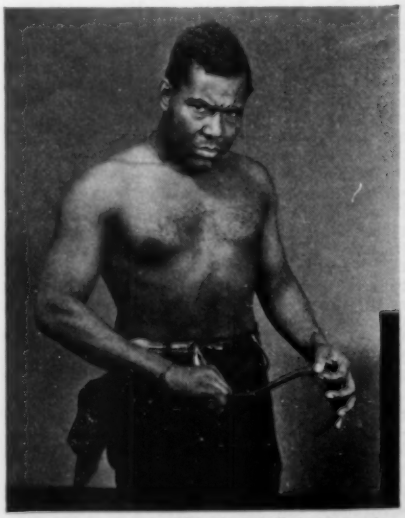
"Somebody's got my purse."

The two cries were coupled together, and within two short moments, the crowd was yelling, "Stop that nigger. He was after a white woman."

"Catch that nigger."

The readiness of a mob of poor whites to tear into the body of a Negro without the slightest doubt but that all their poverty and disease, their failures and frustrations are due to the lowly black, is a circumstance that causes me to wonder whether the Southern white man will delay a hundred years longer in making the last act of *Stevedore*,—the rescue by the white fellow workers of their beleaguered colored comrades—merely a probability instead of a very likely state of affairs.

Seigfreid Ameringer, of Oklahoma, whose father, the illustrious Oscar, is remembered for his organizing activities in Louisiana thirty years ago, informed me recently that the "rescue stunt" has been genuinely enacted in real labor conflicts, not once, but several times. The old "Wobblies" (The Industrial Workers of the World), much maligned a generation ago, set the pace for the equality of races within their ranks. And recently the brilliant solidarity of the real stevedores in Texas, New York, and Virginia speaks well for the Peters-Sklar production. It is *possible* for black and white workers to



Rex Ingram as "Blacksnake" in Stevedore

Leigh Whipper as "Jim Veal" in Stevedore

stand together. The *probability* of the thing is a moot question.

That *Stevedore* has a cast of white and colored actors, that it was written by men who have lived in the South, that it is one of the strongest plays ever staged in New York (which in this instance, means the nation), that the parts taken by Negroes are not abject parts where black men cringe at the feet of white men—are facts already reported. The play has been extensively reviewed, and it is a pity that more Negroes are not seeing it. *Stevedore* is a deserving performance.

The play has some strong characterization. Leigh Whipper has done one of the best portrayals of "white folks' niggers" I have ever seen. It seemed so real to life that I almost yelled out, "I know that guy." Whipper will be remembered as the Crab Man in *Porgy*. Georgette Harvey superintends the best pig-knuckle joint ever placed on stage. She dishes up the food like an old-timer. She could not have been more real on Bland Street, Bluefield, West Virginia, or Market Street, St. Louis. In fact, her hash-house in this play is so well put on that the coffee and grease smell almost comes out to the audience. Jack Carter, the star, has been rated by New York critics as one of the twelve best performers for the 1933–1934 season. Rex Ingram portrays the toughest wharf-rat this side of Norfolk or the East river docks. Edna Thomas is excellent, but I feel that she should have died in the play. (I recall that one of the cast told me that much.) If "Lonnie" (Jack Carter) could have come back, say, to save her, his return from hiding would have been ten times as spectacular.

Stevedore will not be exhibited in the South for several seasons,—as a matter of fact, not until "after the Revolution."

Now, then. The plot is an honest-to-goodness American plot. A white woman quarrels with her boy-friend. He bruises her up a bit, and she somehow *faintly remembers a Negro as the man who did it*. She is not keen on identifying the man, but the officers of the law (you know what I mean) insist on "getting a nigger." They get a regiment of Negroes. They try all of the tricks of identification (I say, you ought to know what I mean), but the white woman is not keen on hanging a man. Meanwhile, there is labor trouble on the docks. The white folk who own the place, and a petty straw boss start the thing moving towards "Lonne".

This boy "Lonnie" talks back to white folk in New Orleans. He should have known that far North of New Orleans it does not go. But "Lonnie" is one of these hard-to-understand (by white folk) Negroes, who somehow just can not keep his mouth from saying what he thinks. The crackers have a name for that quality: "uppity nigger." There is labor trouble, but "Lonnie" keeps talking about "organization of black and white workers". That is a crime in America, both in the South and in the North, with rare exceptions. Even Union Labor holds largely to that belief. Many colored people also think that black labor and white labor must not be organized together. But "Lonnie" scorns the Mores.

In spite of the usual drivel by some white reviewers who think they "know Negroes", the daily papers have treated the play well. I doubt that any member of the cast will receive the Harmon Award, or that any member of the cast will be awarded any degrees by Negro colleges, but I feel nevertheless, that more good will come out of the production of plays like *Stevedore*, than out of all the religious twaddle bound up in *The Green Pastures*, the excellent cast of that show to the contrary.

A lot of timid Negroes will object to *Stevedore*. Many nice, clean, colored people feel that a play which depicts the Negro with anything except a Harvard accent and a dress suit, is bad publicity. The woods are full of stuffed shirts who want only the "best side shown". But the ragged dock-wallopers in *Stevedore* have more of a "message" than all the strained hokum I have seen or read in an effort to show the "cultured" side. On the other hand, the play is not a recommendation to a lot of dreamy-eyed youth to write drama in imitation of *Stevedore*. Where is the play that will portray that black woman sweating over a tub of clothes that her children might go to school? (Forget what the school does to the children—that's still another play). Where is the play that will treat the disillusioned city Negro in the proper light? Nor will this be a play in which an escape to "Mammy in Alabammy" solves the riddle.

Stevedore has brought to the stage a portrayal of Negroes with a normal sex life, and without an overload of religious fervor. The church scene is there, and while it might have been left out, the church meeting broke up in a riot, which is human, and very much like the stuff contained in the Rev. Martin's prayer over the blind man killed by Atlanta, Georgia, police, last year.

Take the college youth to see *Stevedore*. It will save them many heartaches later. It is likewise recommended for colored dramatic clubs, which burden themselves annually with "Lady Windermere's Fan" and "The Rider of Dreams."

"A NIGGER DID IT"
Scene from Stevedore

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